

THE
QUESTION
OF
Witchcraft

DEBATED.

Or a Discourse against their
Opinion that affirm
Witches,
Considered and enlarged.

The Second Edition.

By the Author *John Wagstaffe.*

Cic. Lib. 2. de Divinat.

Nam ut verè loquamur, superstitio fusa per orbem oppressit omnium fere animos, atq; hominum occupavit imbecillitatem.

For to speak the truth, Superstition having over-run the World, hath dastarded almost every one's spirit, taking it's advantage from the frailty of man.

London, Printed for Edw. Millington,
at the Pelican in Duck-Lane, 1671.

3 July 1813

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Witchcraft

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Considered and enlarged

The Second Edition.

by the Author John Winstanley

(to Robert de Binton)

It is not to be supposed, that this is a
newly discovered, or a new
discovery of the occult sciences.

For to speak the truth, Superstition having
over-run the World, hath deluged it
with every kind of error, and
from the truth of nature.

Printed for J. Winstanley
at the Press in the Strand



THE PREFACE.

THe zealous affirmers of Witchcraft, think it no slander, to charge all those who deny it with Atheism. As if forsooth the denyal of Spirits and God did necessarily follow the denyal of Witches: An Error so gross, that it doth not deserve a confutation. This I am sure of, that the affirmers of Witchcraft, may more justly be accounted Heathens, than the deniers of it Atheists; In regard their opinion, doth necessarily infer plurali-

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ty of Gods, by attributing omnipotent effects to more than one. And truly those effects of Witchcraft are so ridiculously absurd, and some of them so impossible for all the Devils in Hell to compass, that 'tis apparent, they are partly founded in mistaken interpretations of Scripture, partly in the knavish and gainful impostures of some men, partly in the vain foolish credulity and frightful fancies of other men. All which I hope to make appear in this following discourse: so that the Reader may plainly perceive, that although I readily grant and acknowledge Spirits, there is no such need I should grant their contracts with men and women. For these contracts being not to be known, but by their effects, I see no reason to acknowledge them, unless any one will undertake to give a good account of their effects: Which as yet I see no one hath done, neither from Scripture, nor History, nor solid reason: for I do not at all value
Pla-

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*Platonick Dreams, Similitudes, and
fabling Whimsies.*

THE P R E F A C E

considered.

I Have often read over, and duly considered that Treatise of mine, which opposeth the absurd opinion of Witchcraft. Nor do I find any reason at all, to repent of what I have written, but to rejoyce in it rather. For if the life of man be pretious, as without doubt it is; then it cannot be labour in vain, to endeavour the saving of innocent persons, from torture and death it self: especially by such means, as are agreeable to the Scriptures, and in no wise contrariant to Church or State. Indeed the Assertors of Witchcraft do frequently

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object Atheisme unto those that deny it. But I am still of opinion, that such a ridiculous slander, is not worthy to be answered : as also that it is no slander, but a real truth, to charge their opinion with the savour of Heathenism, which I shall thus syllogistically make appear :

That opinion which introduceth more Gods than one, is Heathenish.

But the opinion of Witchcraft doth introduce more Gods than one.

Therefore the opinion of Witchcraft is Heathenish.

That opinion which supposeth many Omnipotents and many Omniscients, doth introduce more Gods than one.

But the opinion of Witchcraft supposeth many Omnipotents and many Omniscients.

Therefore the opinion of Witchcraft

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craft doth introduce more Gods than one.

That opinion which supposeth the Devil can create, transform, raise the dead, and prophesie of future contingents, doth suppose many Omnipotents, and many Omniscients.

But the opinion of Witchcraft doth suppose the Devil can create, transform, raise the dead, and prophesie of future contingents.

Therefore the opinion of Witchcraft doth suppose many Omnipotents and Omniscients.

To the major I know not what can be answered, unless any one should be so foolish as to say, that the Devil doth these things only by Gods permission, and consequently is not equal unto him.

As if any one could do a thing beyond his power, though permitted by another who hath power sufficient. Can a child lift up from the ground a bushel of corn, though a strong man who is able to do

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it himself, should stand by and permit him to do it? Or do we think, that the Prophets and Apostles in their miraculous works, did act things beyond humane power by Gods permission? Nay rather 'twas God himself that acted, but only was pleased to make use of such times, when the Prophets and Apostles either lifted up their hands, or made use of any other actions, as signs unto the standers by. So that to me it seems plain, that if Witches can create, transform, raise the dead, and prophesie of future contingents; either God must do it for them, which is too great an aspersi^on on the Divine goodness: or the Devil must, which is too great an exaltation of a Creatures knowledge and power.

The Major being firm, there is no way left for the Assertors of Witchcraft, but to deny the Minor, or else to give up the Cause. The Minor I know there are those that deny: wherein observe how unreasonable and un-
just

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just such men are. When they talk against those that deny Witches, they cry up the consent of all ages in affirming them. But I pray you what kind of Witch is it, that hath been believed in all ages? Not such a one as this or that private man, may fancy or define in his own imagination; but such a one, as was thought to be able to perform by the help of the Devil, those wonderful things mentioned in the Minor proposition. And that this is true; I appeal unto the Scripture, unto the antient Poets, unto Ecclesiastical History, unto the customs and manners of our present age. As for the Scripture, The stories of Pharoahs Magicians, and the Witch of Endor, are sufficient to my purpose. For in these places the Scripture speaks according to the vulgar apprehension or opinion of those times. As for the Poets my own quotations out of them do plainly discover, what was the opinion of their ages. From them if we come to Ecclesiastical History, I might fill a
volume

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volume with proofs of my Assertion; but shall at present only refer the Reader unto the Eighteenth Book of Augustin de Civitate Dei, and the Eighteenth Chapter of that Book; where he shall find it was commonly believed in Italy, that certain women (whom Saint Augustin calls Mulieres stabulariæ) could turn men into beasts. Some hundred of years after, about the time of our Edward the Confessor, or William the Conqueror, Peter Damian an eminent Church-man, took the pains to convince Pope Leo, that 'twas possible for women to do such things; using for his Argument, the appearing of Faustimanus in the shape of Simon Magus. The occasion of Pope Leo's doubt was, the report of two women in his time, that kept an Inn in the way to Rome, and were wont to turn their guests into beasts, that they might sell them for profit. You may read this pleasant story in William of Malmesbury de gestis Regum Anglorum, lib.

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lib. 2. cap. 10. and in Fulgosus de dictis & factis memorabilibus, lib. 8. cap. 11. But now as to what concerns our present age, let every one consult his own breast, and his own memory; then let him tell me whether the raising of dead mens ghosts by Conjurers, the turning of women into cats, and their being hunted in the shape of Hares, to mention no more of this trash, be not things commonly believed to this day: nay, do not our very Nurses tell us, and have we not heard from our Mothers maids such stories as these? Insomuch that they are mingled (if I may so say) with our milk, and we are nourisht up in ridiculous lyes and fancies.

*These things being so, I shall not value what this or that private person takes a Witch to be; but boldly, yet not without reason, conclude, that the notion of a Witch, as it hath been taken in all ages, is grounded on
such*

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such strange actions or effects, that it plainly appears to be heathenish, nay more, to be taken out of the very dregs of heathenism, I mean the vulgar belief.

By J. W.

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THE
QUESTION
OF
Witchcraft
DEBATED.

CHAP. I.

That the Bible hath been falsly translated in those places which speak of Witchcraft.

THat absolute and unlimited power, with which the Eastern Nations were alwayes govern'd, did require not only the force of Arms, but

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but the craft also and tricks of superstition to uphold it : Nor indeed were standing Armies of greater use unto the Oriental Monarchs, for keeping of their people in awe, then Idols were and Priests, and the various impostures used by them; So various, that to enumerate every particular way of delusion, insisted on by the Heathen Priests of old, is a very difficult task to perform. Wherefore in regard it belongs unto my present purpose and design, to treat of them only so far as they comprehend all that notion of a *Witch*, which may be found in Scripture; I shall in order thereunto, reduce them into these four general Heads of *Juggling*, *Inchanting*, *Conjecturing*, *Divining*.

Jugglers were such as performed strange things in the sight of the common people, to their admiration and astonishment. This they did, either by *Leger de maine*, that is, slight

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flight of hand; or else by *Magick*, that is skill in Natural Philosophy; or lastly by a *Familiar*, that is, a confederated person privy to the plot, and assistant to the performance.

Inchanters, were such as with charms or certain composures and set forms of words, did pretend by vertue thereof, to blesse and to curse, to do good and to do hurt, unto the parties for whom those charms were made. Now these two sorts of Impostours may not unaptly be called, the counterfeite *Miracle-mongers* of the Heathens, as the other two that follow may justly be called their false *Prophets*.

Conjecturers, in their guessing at the event of future things, made use of Rules, drawn from their own or other mens observations, about the Stars, about the Fowls of the Air, about the entrails of sacrificed

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crificed Beasts, and about many other things needlesse here to be reckoned up.

Diviners, whom I here call so by way of eminence, and of distinction from *Conjecturers* (not ignorant that *Divining* taken in a general sense, doth comprehend *Conjecturing* also ; I say *Diviners*) pretended to a higher and more infallible kind of Prophesie, receiving forsooth, their Revelations from some Divinity or other ; Either from a God, or from a Dæmon, or from the Spirit of a man departed.

Thus did the Heathen Priests, with subtle and sly inventions, magnifie the power of their Idol Gods, and seduce the foolish people to Idolatry. Wherefore these impostures were so hateful in the sight of God, that the *Israelites* are often in the *Mosaical* Law forewarned from them ; as being those very abominations, for which the Lord did

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did cast their enemies out of that Land which they were to inherit. But above all places, the Eighteenth Chapter of *Deuteronomy* is most remarkable, I mean the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth Verses of that Chapter, which in our English Translations runs thus.

When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abomination of those Nations.

There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth Divinations, or an Observer of times, or an Inchanter, or a Witch.

Or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.

For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord; and because of these abominations, the Lord

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thy God shall drive them out from before thee.

Now this place in *Deuteronomy*, is therefore highly to be considered as to my present purpose, in regard there is not a word in the Bible importing *Witchcraft*, in any other sense than the words of the Tenth and Eleventh Verses do. Wherefore if we consider things aright, *Witchcraft* is not to be found in Scripture, this being the true translation of those two Verses.

Let there not be found among you any one that maketh his Son or his Daughter pass through the fire, or that useth Divinations, or a Star-gazer, or a Conjecturer, or a Miracle-monger.

Or an Inchanter, or a seeker of an Oracle, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.

Here are to be seen three notorious mistakes of our English Translatours. The first is their calling a

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Conjecturer an *Inchanter*, which why they should I cannot at all imagine, there being not the least hint of such a signification in the Hebrew word *מחנן* Far better was it rendered in the old Translation, *a regarder of the flying of Fowls*, for that is truth, although it be not all the truth : The flight of Fowls being but one way of many, which *Conjecturers* made use of. Whereas on the contrary to call a *Conjecturer* an *Inchanter*, hath not the least spark of truth in it : An *Inchanter* being the same with a *Charmer*, which follows in the next Verse, & is in the Hebrew *חנן* a word derived from *חנן* to speak, pronounce or declares and not from the same word, as it signifies to joyn to, or be in league with ; from whence some fondly imagine, that an *Inchanter* is one, who hath a league with the Devil.

The second mistake of our

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Translatours is, their calling a *Miracle-monger a Witch*. The Hebrew word is **קוּשָׁן**, which the Septuagint renders by the Greek word **φάρμακον**, meaning an impostour, not a poysoner : For it is ridiculous to think, that *Pharaohs Magicians*, *Jézabel the Queen*, and King *Mannasses*, did exercise the Art of poysoning. Thus in the Eighteenth Chapter of the *Revelations* and the Twenty third Verse ; The word **φάρμακον** is neither taken for *Witchcraft*, nor poyson, but for impostures : Though our Translatours have rendred it *Witchcraft*, Now these *Miracle-mongers*, or Juggling workers of counterfeit miracles are therefore so severely prohibited in the Law of *Moses*, because they acted strange things in the sight of the people, to confirm them in false Religions. Hence it is, that in the Old Testament, where mention is made of Idolatry, you shall frequently

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quently meet with *Miracle-mon-*
gers and *Southsayers* coupled toge-
ther. For the Priests of an Idol would
commonly advance its reputation,
by counterfeiting the gifts of *Pro-*
phesying and working *Miracles* ,
pretendedly received from that
God , to whose honour the Idol
was erected. Nor let any one think
that for the performance of these
counterfeit-Miracles , they stood
in need of the Devils assistance, for
what they performed , either ex-
ceeded not the compass of humane
Art, although miraculous in the eyes
of the Vulgar : Or if it did, then
it was not really performed, but a
meer *Juggling* imposture. Such kind
of *Jugglers* were those , who stood
before *Pharaoh* in opposition to
Moses and *Aaron*. For whosoever
believes that *Pharaoh's Magicians*
could by the help of Devils turn in
an instant a stick into a Serpent, he
doth ascribe unto the Devil an om-

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nipotent creating power, equal unto his who did but say, let such a thing be, and it was so. St. *Augustine* I confess doth seem to endeavour the evading of this objection by laying down for a maxime, That in the Elements do secretly lye hid the seeds of all bodies, which when they meet with convenient opportunities, do put forth themselves and arise unto the just bounds and figures, due unto their respective species. From hence he doth infer that the Devil in turning the *Magicians* Rods into Serpents, did not create those Serpents, because he produced them out of their seeds. But by St. *Augustin's* good leave, though I should grant him, that the seed of a Serpent is in a stick, yet I would never grant him, that the *Magicians* could so suddenly bring forth this seed into act, for the production of a Serpent. 'Tis true, that men by their well order

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dering the seeds of Plants, may hasten the generation of such Plants, and the ripening of their fruits. They may also by putting Eggs into *Camels* dung procure the generation of *Chickens*. Wherefore 'tis probable that Devils being more skilful than men, may strangely promote the generation of several creatures, beyond any humane Art. But yet neither men nor Devils, in regard they act these things by the application of Matter to Matter, can produce any creature out of its seed, without a considerable space of time. No, they must attend the Laws of Matter, and wait upon Dame Natures leisure; there being many successive alterations required in seed, before it can come to be the *Embryo* of a creature, and many also must afterwards follow, before that *Embryo* can arrive to a perfect shape. Now many perceiving how difficult it is to affirm,

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firm, that the *Magicians* staffs were turned into Serpents ; they affirm that it was not really done , but seemingly so , by a deluding Juggling trick of the Devil, who might convey the staffs away , and slip Serpents in their place. To all such as these I answer, that if they once recede from the letter of the Text, and say , it was a Juggle of the Devil, I may as well say, it was a Juggle meerly of the *Magicians* themselves , who did it by their fly and secret tricks, as the Hebrew word בלטים signifies , which our Translators have rendered, *by their Incantments*. Nor let any one wonder that the Scripture should say , the *Magicians* staffs were turned into *Serpents* , in regard the Scripture speaks only according to the deceived apprehension of the standers by. Just so in the case of *Samuel* raised by the *Witch of Endor*, it speaks according to

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to the deceived apprehensions of *Saul* and his followers : For neither that woman, nor all the Devils in Hell could raise *Samuel*, who had been dead and buried almost two years. As for those who fancy that God did then raise *Samuel* ; 'tis a very likely thing indeed, that God should refuse to answer *Saul* , when he consulted him in wayes appointed by himself, and yet should answer him when he consulted in a forbidden way. Besides, if *Samuel* had been raised by God, no doubt he would never have said unto *Saul* *Why hast thou disquieted me ?* for it would have been no disquiet nor trouble unto him , to come upon Gods Errand. Some there are who will needs have it to be the Devil in the likeness of *Samuel*, because *Sauls* death was foretold. To this I answer, that 'twas the woman her self, or a person confederated with her, who spake it at a venture

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ture, knowing that *Saul* was going to fight : But as for the certainty of his death, it could not have been foretold by the Devil himself.

The third error of our Translatours is, their mistaking a consulter with Oracles or false Prophets, for a consulter with familiar spirits. The Hebrew words are *אֹרַק שְׂאֵל*, which word *Ob* signifies in Scripture, sometimes the gift of *Oracling*, and sometimes the person that hath such a gift. It signifies also a bottle, or hollow Vessel, and from this signification, I suppose the other came. For it is certain that *Oracles*, when they pronounced their *Oracles*, did use to counterfeit strange kind of voices, that they might seem not to be humane. To this purpose 'tis not unlikely, that they made use of a bottle, or trunk, or some other hollow vessel, which they spake through, whereby their voices must needs be very
much

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much altered, especially if they were in a cave or room underground, when they made answer to enquiries. These kind of cheating tricks are plainly alluded unto by the Prophet *Isaiah*, in these words; *And thy voice shall be as of an Oracler out of the earth, and thy speech shall peep out of the dust.* Here I suppose, the Prophet chiefly alludes unto the *Necromantick Oracler*, or one that pretended to consult with the dead: Who himself or his confederate, did therefore counterfeit a voyce, like the peeping of a Chicken, that it might the more plausibly seem to be the small voyce of a poor departed Ghost. This will appear more plainly, if we consider the nineteenth verse of the eight Chapter of *Isaiah*, according to the Translation of *Junius* and *Tremelius*, our own being, hardly sense: The words are these, *For when they say unto you, ask counsel*

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sel of Oracles and Southsayers, who
peep and mutter ; should not a peo-
ple ask counsel of their God ? Should
they ask counsel of the dead for the
living ? Now as the *Oracles*, when
they pretended to receive answers
from the dead, would peep like
Chickens ; So when they delivered
the mind of a God or a Dæmon,
they counterfeited other-guise
tones. In which way of counter-
feiting, some were such excellent
Artists that they stood in need of no
instrument to help them ; in re-
gard they could speak with their
mouths shut, and their voice would
seem to come out of their bellies, as
if they had been really possess'd with
a talking devil: hence they were cal-
led *Engastrimuthians* by the Greeks,
as also they were called *Eurycleans*,
from one *Eurycles* a famous Im-
postour of this kind. And as *Plu-*
tarch testifies, these *Engastrimuthi-*
ans or *Eurycleans*, were antiently
called

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called *Pythons*: Now $\pi\upsilon\theta\omega\iota$ and $\pi\upsilon\sigma\iota\upsilon\alpha$ $\pi\upsilon\theta\omega\iota$ in Greek doth exactly render the Hebrew *Ob*. Thus if we take *Ob* for an *Oracler*, and the Spirit of Oracling, we may very commodiously with *Junius* and *Tremelius* translate that passage in the *Chronicles*, concerning *Manasses*, where it is said of him, אֵן עָשָׂה he made or set up an *Oracle*, that is, he ordained or appointed *Oracles*. For the word *gnashab* signifies to make or finish. Wherefore because it would be ridiculous to say, that *Manasses* made familiar Spirits. Our Translatours have altered the true signification of *gnashab*, and translate it, though erroneously, as if it signified to deal with, affirming that *Manasses* dealt with familiar Spirits. But whosoever seriously views and considers that place, he shall find it a meer description of Idolatry, where there is mention of high places and groves, and of Altars,

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Altars dedicated not only to *Baal*, but unto the whole host of Heaven, as also of the setting up a carved Idol in the very house of God. Wherefore it was suitable to mention also that crew of men who were set apart by *Manasses*, to officiate in this Idolatrous worship; Such as were various sorts of *Oracles*, and *Miracle-mongers*. But how *Witches* should come in here, I cannot tell, no nor how Devils neither, unless you believe that Devils made answer at the Heathen Oracles. Which if you do, for my part I must crave leave to dissent, judging them to be nothing but the impostures of men. And as *Demosthenes* did wisely observe in his dayes, that the *Delphian Oracle* did *φιλανθρωπίζειν*, so I am confident if History be true, that the *Hammonean* did *Ἀλεξανδρίζειν*, and that all the rest of the cheating pack did one way or other *Ἀνθρωπίζειν*.

C H A P.

Chap. I. *Considered.*

THe first thing which I find fault with in our Translatours of the Bible, is, their calling a Conjecturer an Inchanter. A mistake so evident, as not to be denied. And herein I took occasion, to hint the folly of those, who derive the Hebrew word חַכַּר which signifies a Charm from חָכַר as it signifies to joyn to or be in league with, and not from the same word as it signifies to speak, pronounce or declare. So much it seems the prejudice of a præ-conceived opinion about making leagues with the Devil doth sway them, that they do not consider. The Hebrew words have oftentimes several significations, which have no dependance on one another, and that it is most likely, a
Charmer

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Charmer should be derived from speech or speaking in the Hebrew, as well as in other Languages. Thus in Greek *Ἀοιδός* is derived from *Ἀείδω* *Cano*, and from this Latine word *Cano* comes *Incanto* and *Carmen*, from whence comes our English word Charm. As for the old *Saxon* word Spell, it signifies nothing but Speech. Thus Gospel signifies either good speech, or Gods speech, take which way you will.

The second fault I find is, the Translating a *Miracle-monger* a *Witch*: The Hebrew word is *מכשף*, which I therefore render by the word *Miracle-monger*, because I would comprise it's various significations; for it doth not only signify a *Jugler*, or one that deludes the eyes of the spectators, which is it proper signification as the *Lexicographers* do assert; but it signifies an *Inchanter* also, as appears in the fifty seventh *Psalms*. It signifies

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fies also, one that purifies and lustrates either Person, or City, or Country, from any pollution or guilt, and from the molestation of evil spirits. Now the question is, whether these impostures were meerly humane, or performed by the help of the Devil. Some to concern the Devil in the buisinesse, urge the consent of Translators, who render the Hebrew מַכְשֵׁר by the Latine *maleficus*. To these I answer, that by *Maleficus* the Romans did not always understand, one that dealt with the Devil, as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter. But if the Translators meant so, they were byassed with the prejudice of a preconceived opinion; For what need the Devil be brought in, for the performance of things which were not real, but meer cozening cheats? As appears by *Pharaohs* Magicians, who by their secret and sly tricks (the vulgar Latine saith *per arcana*)

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did counterfeit such actions, as the Devil himself could not really perform, unlesse we make him a Creator. It being a creation to make a Serpent out of a stick, as well as to make *Eve* out of *Adams* rib, or *Adam* out of the dust of the earth. But though the Magicians juggled with Serpents, with bloud, and with frogs ; yet they could not do so with those little creatures, which in our Translation are called Lice, but most probably were some other creatures, which could not be procured : for the true signification of the Hebrew word, is as yet unknown. In like manner the raising of *Samuel* was a notorious cheat, as most Protestant Divines I suppose do agree. Now if *Samuel* did not foretell *Sauls* death, the Devil could not foresee so great a contingency. 'Twas a meer contingent, that there should be a Battel. 'Twas far more contingent, that *Saul* should escape alive from
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the Battle, and afterwards be killed at his own request. None but an omniscient God could know this; *Isaiah 41. and 23. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods.*

Now further to make it appear, that *Miracle-mongers*, as I call them, were not *Witches* in our modern sense; I shall urge, that he who seriously considers the Bible, will find, that those *Impostures* which our Translators call *Witchcraft*, signifie nothing but those arts or tricks, which were used to seduce the people to Idolatry, and to confirm them in it. Thus you shall often meet in the Bible with Fornication and *Witchcraft* joyned together. By Fornication and Whoredome is meant Idolatry, and by *Witchcraft*, the art of engaging men in it. The Whoredome of *Jesabel* was her Idolatry, and her *Witchcraft* was the maintaining of *Baals* Priests. The

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arts of engaging men in Idolatrous ways, were chiefly Divination and counterfeit Miracles. Divination was performed many ways, but the two most famous were by Dream or Vision, and by looking into the entrails of sacrificed beasts. Nevertheless though Divination and *Miracle-monging* be chiefly meant by the notion of *Witchcraft* in Scripture; yet in many places, we must also understand thereby, the terrour of Arms, the allurements of Honours, and Riches; in a word, all the Machinations and various Methods, used by imperial Cities and renowned Princes, to captivate the Nations round about them. *Isaiah* the Prophet in the 47th. Chapter and the 12 Verse, tells *Babylon* of the multitude of her Sorceries, and in the next Verse expounds it by the multitude of her Counsels. *Stand now with thine Incantments, and with the multitude of thy Sorceries, wherein thou*

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thou hast laboured from thy youth. If so be thou maist be able to profit, if so be thou maist prevail.

Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: Let now the Astrologers, the Star-gazers, the monthly Prognosticators stand up, and save thee from these things, that shall come upon thee.

In like manner the Prophet Nahum, as Calvin expounds him, Chap. 3. v. 4. doth mean by the Witchcraft of Nineveh, all the Plots and Arts which a great City useth to subdue her Neighbours. Because of the multitude of the Whoredomes of the well-favoured harlot, the Mistress of Witchcrafts, that selleth Nations through her whoredomes, and families through her Witchcrafts. And as Calvin expounds, concerning Nineveh, so doth Cornelius a Lapide expound the Sorceries of Heathen Rome, by which he understands the riches, honours and great rewards, whereby that antient and renowned City, did

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draw the Nations after her. As you may see in his Comment on the 18. Chapter of the *Revelations*, and the 23. verse.

Moreover the Greek Translation of the Septuagint, rendring the Hebrew word, which I call *Miraclemonger*, by the Greek word φάρμακος makes much to my purpose. For φάρμακος doth elegantly signifie, an Impostour or deceiver; which signification is taken from the Colours, that Painters were wont to make use of, called in Greek φάρμακα. Besides it is very considerable to observe, that φάρμακος and γόης have the same signification of Imposture. St. *Chrisostome* doth oppose them as Mountebanks or Cheats, unto ἰατρος a lawfull Physitian. *Suidas* interprets γόης by κόλαξ and ἀπατίων *Hesychius* φαρμάζασσι, by ἀπατήσασσι φαρμάττομενθ by κολλερόμενθ. And *Plato* in his

Συμπόσιον

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Συμποιῶν brings in *Socrates* disputing and maintaining, that Love was a great Dæmon, where amongst other Characters of this Dæmon, he describes him to be *δαιμόνιος καὶ φαρμακικός καὶ σφιστής*. In English thus, a notable cheating cozening Sophister. For I suppose that *Socrates* did not mean that he was a *Witch*, he being a great Dæmon himself, according to the supposition of *Socrates*. But now to come closer home, 'tis probable that the particular imposture, which is chiefly denoted by the word *φάρμακος*, is that heathenish expiation or lustration of any person, Town or Country, whereby the Priests pretended to deliver them from hainous guilt or pollution, and from infesting evil spirits. These *Lustratores orbium* were called *φάρμακοι* by the *Athenians*, and the whole way of purifying I suppose was called *γυνήα* I mean that way which concerned the chasing

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chasing away of evill spirits. But as for that way of sacred purifications, whereby the good Dæmons were conciliated, and their conversation procured, it was called *Θεουργία*. I confesse Saint *Augustine* makes this difference between *Theurgia* and *Goelia*, according to the opinion of the heathen Philosophers in his time; that *Theurgia* was sacred and laudable, but *Goelia* wicked and mischievous. This you may read in his Tenth Book, *De Civitate Dei*, Chapter the Ninth. Whereat I cannot sufficiently wonder, for if it had been so in *Plato's* dayes, surely he would never have made *Goelia* to be one main part or imployment of the Priestly Office, as I shall have occasion to shew, when I come to consider the sixth Chapter. For my own part I suppose, that *Goelia* was no more wicked than *Theurgia*, but because it was imployed about evill spirits, in proceſſe of time it came
to

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to be taken in an evill sense, as if it had been an art of confederating with, or driving away those infesting Dæmons. These significations of *גִּזְוִה* and *שִׁדְדִּיּוֹת*, induce me to believe, that the two Hebrew words derived from *שִׁדְדִּי*, onewhereof our Translators render *Witch*, and the other *Witchcraft*, may be thus expounded. By *Witchcraft* in Scripture is meant, any deceitfull Art or imposture, to confirm men in idolatry, or to seduce them to it. By *Witch* for the most part chiefly is meant, that kind of Priest, whose calling or employment it was to practise the Imposture of Lustration.

The third fault, which I find in our Translation is, their mistaking a Consulter with Oracles, or false Prophets, for a Consulter with Familiar Spirits. And this I prove to be a fault, by that passage in the *Chronicles*, concerning

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cerning *Manasses*, where it is said, *That he made Pythons or Prophets.* For if the Hebrew word אֵנִי, signifies a Familiar Spirit, according to our Translation, then *Manasses* must be said to have made Spirits; for so the Hebrew word נְבִיִּים imports, and not to deal with them, as our Translators have it. For my part I do not believe, that the Devil can make any the least living creature, much lesse that a man as *Manasses* was, though a King, could make a Devil. The truth is, these familiar Spirits were no other than *Pythons*, and *Pythons* were no other than Heathen Prophets. For the Heathens did usually call those amongst them, who pretended unto the gift of Prophecie, by the name of *Pythons*; which is as much as to say, men that had the spirit of *Apollo*. The reason of which name was, because they took *Apollo* to be the God of Divination, as may be gathered

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thered from the words of *Socrates*,
Plato's Phedrus, where he distinguisheth between two sorts of madness, one arising from humane diseases, the other proceeding from the divine hand, altering one from his wonted disposition. This divine madness he again devides into four parts; Whereof one concerns love matters belonging to *Venus* and *Cupid*. Another Poetry, and this belongs to the Muses. A third part is of sacred mysteries, which *Bacchus* challengeth unto himself. And the fourth of Divinations, is under the Government of *Apollo*. Now *Apollo* being called *Pythius* ἀπὸ τοῦ πύθιδος according to *Strabo*; It was very proper to call those men and women, who never thought to have the divining spirit of *Apollo*, *Pythons* and *Pythonisses*, as being derived from that name which was given unto him, upon the account of Divination. Hence it is, that *St. Luke*
speaking

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speaking of a Wench, who pretended to prophesie, saith she had *πνεῦμα πύθονος*. Wherein he accommodates himself to the vulgar mode of speech, used in his age. Not as if she had really the spirit of *Apollo*, who was but a fictitious deity, and consequently had no spirit of his own, wherewith to possesse the hearts of men. So that when Saint *Luke* saith, this spirit came out of the Damsel, he means, she forsook her cozening imposture, and returned to an honest disposition. Just as when the evil spirit left *Saul*, at the playing of *David* on his Harp; we are to understand thereby, that *Saul* returned to a cheerful disposition, and left off his melancholick dumps. Nor let any one think, that though *Apollo* was but a fictitious deity, there were reall devils acted his oracular part. I suppose *Lysander* the *Lacedamonean* thought he had to do with humane creatures, when
he

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he attempted to bribe, first the Priestesse at *Delphos*, then her at *Dodona*, afterwards the Priests of *Jupiter Hammon*. Indeed *Lysander* was but a subject, and though he came with a purse in one hand, he did not come with a sword in the other; Otherwise he might have sped as well, as afterwards *Philip* of *Macedon* did with the *Delphian Apollo*, and his son *Alexander* the Great, with *Jupiter Hammon*. As for the observation, concerning the decay of Oracles at the coming of Christ, 'tis but a meer fancy. Nor do I at all value, any oracle or sentence that may be brought to that purpose, being well assured that they were but the forgeries of primitive Christians, whose blind intemperate zeal, did tempt them to forge not only sentences but whole Authours, as any that hath not read Histories himself, may find in *Causabons Exercitations on Baronius, Blondel*

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del on the Sybils, as also the decree of Pope *Gelasius*, who amongst other counterfeit Authors doth prohibit counterfeit Prophets, counterfeit Gospels, and counterfeit acts of the Apostles. Besides I would fain know what some men mean by the ceasing of Oracles at the coming of Christ. If they mean, that Oracles were then quite silent, 'tis false. For *Plutarch* testifies that in his time, which was after Christ, the Oracle at *Delphos* in *Phocis*, as also that at *Lebadia*, a Town in *Beotia*, did still give answers. Again if they mean only that Oracles were much out of request at the coming of Christ. I answer so they were long before his coming, witnesse a very good Author, *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, who died some years before Christ was born. Yer it appears by his second Book of Divination, that Oracles were so much gone to decay long before his time; that in
his

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his dayes there was nothing more contemptible. *Cicero's* words are these, *Sed quod caput est, cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non edantur, non modo nostra ætate, sed jam diu, adeo ut nihil posset esse contemptius?*

Thus I suppose, I have made good my objections against our English Translators, who without question in this particular matter, were sway-
ed by the preiudice of a præ-con-
ceived opinion of *Witches & Witch-
craft*. As also they apparently were
in Translating the English Chapter
of the Acts of the Apostles; where
they say one *Simon* used forcery,
and bewitched the people of *Sama-
ria*, whereas in the Greek there is no
such thing; he only made the peo-
ple of *Samaria* to wonder at his
works. But when *Philip* the Dea-
con came thither, he made *Simon*
himself to wonder at his works. I
don't say he did bewitch him. yet
if

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if our Translators had been constant to their own interpretation, the words being of the same signification in the original, they must as well have made *Simon* bewitched by *Philip*, as the *Samaritans* by *Simon*.

CHAP. II.

That the Opinion of Witches bath had its foundation in Heathen Fables.

THUS I have made it appear, how false Prophets and workers of counterfeit-*Miracles*, have been mistaken by our Translatours of the Bible for *Witches* and dealers with familiar Spirits; A mistake so gross, that it obscures many things in the Law of *Moses*, as also in the Prophets,

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phets, where there are several places directly intended against the Heathen religion, especially that of the *Egyptians*. Now such was the vain credulity of men, that they did not only believe these things were real which the Priests did counterfeit, but they also ascribed unto private persons a power equal unto that of the Priests, or rather beyond it. For not only men, but women also, especially old women have been famous for Prophefying of things to come, whence they were called *Sagæ*, as also for wonderful and miraculous exploits, whence they were called *Lamiæ* or *Veneficæ*. They were called *Lamiæ* chiefly from their exploits upon little Children. For it seems according to the Fable, there was one *Lamia* a beautiful woman in *Lybia*, whom *Jupiter* fell in love with, but jealous *Juno* took her children which she had by *Jupiter*, and killed them,

D

where-

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fore she out of meer spite being grieved at the killing of her own children, did use to kill the children of other women. They were called *Veneficæ*, because they were wont to make use of herbs, which they supposed had strange kind of vertues in them ; for with herbs or Charms they alwayes acted.

(bis,

Num te carminibus, num te pallentibus her-
Devovit tacito tempore noctis anus ?

Strange it is to consider, how far the folly of men hath proceeded in their belief, concerning the actions both of male and female *Witches* : As if forsooth they could transform men and women into beasts, as if they could destroy the fruits of the earth, and the fruit of the womb, at their pleasure, as if they could raise winds and tempests, or allay them, enable or dis-enable in matters venereal, In a word, as if they could enslave nature

ture

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ture her self, and make the Universe obey their commands. Examples of this prodigious power, are scattered up and down the Roman Poets, I shall quote some few of them out of *Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, Lucan.*

*Has herbas, atq; hac ponto mibi lecta venena, Virg. E.
Ipse dedit Maris, nascuntur plurima ponto. clous 8.
His ego saepe lupum fieri & se condere sylvis
Marim, saepe animas imis excire sepulchris,
Atq; satas alio vidi traducere menses.*

*(herbis)
Quos hominum ex facie, Dea se vapotentibus Virg. l. lib
Indurat Circe, in vultus ac terga ferarum. 6. Aeneid.*

*(agnos)
Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinas*

*Qua movere cereas imagines,
Ut ipse nosti curiosus; & polo
Deripere lunam vocibus possum meis,
Possum crematos excitare mortuos,
Desideriq; temperare piculum.*

*Horat.
ode ult.*

Ovid E- *Ille reluctantem cursu deducere lunam*
 Pis. Hyp- *Nititur & tenebris abdere solis equos.*
 si p. *Ille refrénat aquas, obliquaq; fulmina sistit,*
Ille loco Sylvas vivaq; saxsa movet :
Per tumulos errat, sparsis distincta capillis,
Certaq; de tepidis colligit ossa rogis:
Devoret absentes, simulachraq; cerea figit,
Et miserum tennes in jecur urget acus.

Ovid. Eb- *Concussa; sisto,*
 7. Meta- *Stantia concutio cantu freta, nubila pello,*
 mor. *Nubilaq; induco, ventos abigoq; vocoq;*

Ovid 3. *Num mea Thessalico languent devota veneno*
 Amor *Corpora num misero carmen & herba nocent*
 Eleg. 6. *Sagax punicea defixit nomina cerâ*
Et medium tennes in jecur urget acus

(bam
Carmines lesa ceres sterilem vanescit in her-
Deficiunt lesi Carmines fontis aquæ ;
Illicibus glandes cantataq; vitibus uva,
Decidit & nullo poma movente fluunt ;

(artes,
Quid vetat & nervos magicas torpere per
Forsitan impatiens sit latus inde meum:

Tibul. lib. *Cum libet hæc tristi depellit nubila cælo,*
 1. Eleg. 2. *Cum libet æstivo provocat orbe nives,*

Quid

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(*amores*)
Quid credam? Hæc eadem nostros se dixit Tibul. lib.
Cantibus aut herbis solvere posse meos 1, Eleg. 8.

(*quæ*)
Invidiæ fuimus? num nos Deus obruit? Propert:
Leſta Promethæis dividit herba jugis? lib. 1. Eleg
 12.

Ceſſavere vires rerum, dilataq; longa, Lucan.
Hæſit nocte dies, legi non paruit Æther; lib. 6.
Torpuit & præceps audito carmine mundus,
Axibus & rapidis impulſos Jupiter urgens
Miratur non ire polos; Tunc omnia complent
Imbribus, & calido producunt nubila Phæbo
Et tonat ignaro Cælum Jove.

Theſe, and many more inſtances of the like kind might be produced out of the Heathen Poets, ſufficient to teſtiſie the folly of the vulgar Heathens, in their belief concerning the Power of *Witches*. As for the Opinions concerning *Incubi* and *Succubi* Devils, I ſuppoſe it had its riſe from the Fable of the antient *Heroes*, who (as *Socrates* in *Plato's Cratylus* doth affirm) were begotten from the

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Coniunction of Deities with Humane Creatures; which kind of Coniunction, whosoever believes, his Opinion is base and sottish, and fit only to be a cloak for the Adulteries of the Heathen Priests, who often did lye with other mens Wives, pretending that the Gods had vouchsafed them the Honour of their Company. Very remarkable to this purpose, is the story of *Tyrannus* a Priest of *Saturn*, who under this pretence made use of many a mans Wife, till at last, one more wise than the rest discovered the cheat. In like manner *Mundus* a Gentleman of *Rome*, by the help of the Priests belonging to the Temple of *Isis*, enjoyed his pleasure on *Paulina* a *Roman* Lady, who mistook him for the God *Anubis*.

Nevertheless, let no one think, that the ingenious Poets did themselves, or any other of the wiser sort of Heathens, believe such ridiculous
and

and absurd fopperies ; for on the contrary, when they speak their own minds, and not according to the Fable or Vulgar opinion, they laugh these absurdities to scorn : Thus *Propertius* derides them.

At vos deductæ quibus est fallacia luna,
Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis ;
Enagedum domina mentem convertite nostræ
Et facite illa meo palleat ore magis :

propert.
lib. I. E.
leg.

Tunc ego crediderim vobis, & sydera & am-
Posse Cytæmis ducere carminibus (nes

Ovid also it of the same mind, and gives no credit to these Cheats.

Nec vos graminibus nec misto credite succo,
Nec tentate nocens virus amantis equæ :
Nec mediæ maris finduntur cantibus angues
Nec redit in fontes unda supina suos :
Et quamvis aliquis Temesæa removerit æra
Nunquam Luna suis excutietur equis.

Ovid de
mediam
sacri

Ovid lib. *Fallitur æmonias si quis decurrit ad artes,*
 2. de Arte *Datq; quod a teneri fronte revellit equi :*
 Amandi: *Non facient ut vivat amor Medeides herbae,*
Mixtaq; cum magicis mersa venena sonis.

Ovid lib. *Quid te Phasiacæ juverunt gramina terre,*
 deRemed. *Cum cuperes patria Colchi manere domo ?*
 Amor. *Quid tibi profuerint Circe Perseides herbae,*
Cum tibi Neritias abstulit aura rates ?

ibid. *Ergo quisquis opem nostra tibi poscis ab*
Deme veneficiis carminibusq; fidem. (arte,

But *Horace* excellently, and like himself, lays it down as a mark or sign of ones proficiency in moral Philosophy, if he had learnt to despise and laugh at these kind of Fables.

Hor. Epist. *Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,*
 ult. *Nocturnos lemures potentq; Thessala rides ?*

In like manner *Seneca* reproving the credulous simplicity of elder times, shews what Opinion he himself was of : His words are these, *Et*
apud

apud nos in lege duodecim Tabularum Sen. lib. 4. Nat. Quæst.
cavetur, ne quis alienas fruges excan-
tassit ; Rudis adhuc antiquitas crede-
bat, & attrahi imbres cantibus &
repelli, quorum nihil posse fieri tam
palam est, ut ejus rei causa nullius
Philosophi Schola intranda sit. In a
word, I might here instance in other
of the Antients, as in *Hypocrates* and
Lucian, the one deriding the other,
seriously disputing against Magick
cheats : But I shall conclude with
the judgement of *Nero* the Empe-
rour, who had wit enough, who had
Men, Books, Money, I had almost
said, the World at his command, so
that he could want no helps for the
promoting his desires. This *Nero*
ambitious of being Chief in every
thing, especially desiring to Com-
mand the Gods as well as men, did
in order thereunto eagerly apply
himself to the study of Magick,
which after his utmost endeavours,
he forsook and despised, finding it
to

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to be vain, and to promise that which it cannot perform.

Chap. II. Considered.

THe notion of a *Witch*, as it is taken now adayes being not to be found in Scripture ; I thought it worth the while to discover, where it might be found in ancient times. For which purpose, I could not insist on a more illustrious way, than by producing the Testimonies of ancient Poets, who usually allude unto the vulgar opinion of their present ages, not caring whether they be true or false, provided they serve for the adorning of their Poems. Wherefore I cannot chuse but laugh at the weakness of that objection which hath been often made against me. Why I should quote fabulous Poets. But I pray where-
in

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in are they fabulous, not in that which I have quoted them for, namely to shew that the people of those times did commonly believe. *Witches* could do such and such wonderful things. Indeed, that those who were reputed *Witches* could do so is a meer fable, but that the people believed they could, is a reall truth. Now this foolish belief hath been transmitted from Father to Son through all ages, down unto our present time, and is deep rooted in the hearts of the Vulgar. For it is remarkable, that the self same thing which the antient Poets affirm, concerning *Witches*, the women of our time do tell to children. If *Meris*, *Medea*, *Canidia*, *Circe*, and others of old, could transform themselves and raise the dead; 'tis no more than what we are told almost as soon as we are born that men & women can do now. But some will object and say, they do not believe that *Witches* can do such

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such things as these : and I shall as often tell them, I don't care for a *Witch* of their making. Yet these men forsooth, in their metaphysical definitions, will allow a *Witch* to be able to raise winds and showre down rain, and to blast the fruits of the earth. Indeed it were rational to believe that *Witches* or Devils for them, could blast the fruits of the earth, and blite the Corn, if so be they could alter the weather. But on the contrary the wind bloweth where it listeth, and hath it's natural course, if we may believe *Solomon* the King and Preacher. Nor can all the vanities of the Gentiles (whether Idol or Devil) cause the Heavens to rain, if we may believe the Prophet *Jeremiah*. His words do thus elegantly expostulate ;
Are there any among the vanities of the Gentiles that can cause rain ? Or can the Heavens give showres ? Art not

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not thou be O Lord our God? Therefore we will wait upon thee, for thou hast made all these things. 'Tis true indeed, *Thomas Aquinas* in his Comment on *Job*, doth distinguish at this place of *Jeremiah*, and saith that the Devil cannot cause rain in a natural course, but he can in an artificial way. By which distinction, he doth quite evacuate the force of the Prophets expostulation. But what will not men of distinctions do, if you allow them their full swinge of distinguishing, they'l make any thing signifie any thing. Nevertheless, though we let *Thomas Aquinas* and his distinction pass, the assertors of *Witchcraft* must not scape so. For I would fain know by what art the Devil can raise a tempest, as soon as ever such or such a person shall enter into a Ship. Or how comes it to pass, that when an old woman on the top of a tree, shall mumble a few words, immediately

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diately the winds must rise. Surely this instantaneous motion, is beyond the power of a Devil to produce, nor doth nature obey him so far. If you object, who amongst men is able to tell what a spirit can do? I answer; 'tis hard indeed to tell what a Spirit can do, but 'tis easie to tell what a Spirit created can not do. I confesse indeed, the Devill is called the Prince of the air, not as if he could command that Element, but rather the spirits which inhabit there. As for the History of *Job*, the Devils power can not be argued from thence. The Author of that Book, having been pleased to handle his subject, after the manner of Poets, who deliver many things, partly for delight, and partly for explication. But before I leave this consideration, I shall put the Reader in mind to consider, that the Poets themselves laughing at the pretended power

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power of *Witches*, which they so much magnifie in their Poems, did look upon it as a meer fable, fit only to adorn their writings by way of allusion. And that not the Poets only, but the wisest of men in all ages, have laught at this Fable. *Pliny* in his natural History doth confess, that 'twas of old a famous and much celebrated question, whether words and charms did avail or no? The Affirmative he makes to be the common opinion, but the Negative the wiser; His words are these; *Sed viritim Sapientissimi cuiusq; respuit fides.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

*That it hath been proved by the
Papal Inquisitors, seeking
their own private gain, as al-
so to establish the usurped
Dominion of their Founder.*

NOW one would think, that these
kind of Heathenish Fables and
Follies, although they took root in
the minds of the Christian vulgar,
should never have been assented
unto by those who account them-
selves Rabbies and Doctors of the
people; yet I'll assure ye, there is
hardly any thing which I have quo-
ted out of the Poets, that hath not
been declared true, by the Inquisi-
tion and by the Canon Law : As a-
ny

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ny one may see, who will take the pains to consult several Popish writings; such as the Bull of Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, directed to the Inquisitors of *Almaine*, the *Malleus Maleficarum* of *Jacobus Sprengerus*, the *Formicarium* of *Johannes Niderus*, as also *Bartholomæus Spineus de strigibus*, *Paulus Grillandus de Sortilegiis*, and (to mention no more) *Martin Delrio* the Jesuit's *Disquisitiones Magicæ*, who hath written largely upon this subject.

Nor have they been content to assert the Fables of the Heathens only without the addition of many more of their own; for they confidently assert, that Witches make a Contract with the Devil, wherein they renounce their Baptism, and Christian Faith; as also they engage to slight and to despise the Virgin *Mary*, to trample upon the sign of the Cross, Images and Reliques of Saints, Holy water, Salt, Wax-Candles,

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dles, and other things Hallowed by the Church; to undervalue the seven Sacraments, and particularly not to Adore the Consecrated Host. They also engage to be ready at all times to make their appearance at the solemn Conventicles of Witches, where they dance and feast, and adore the Devil who is present amongst them. Which mad kind of revelling, without doubt, as *Cardan* hath well observed, is grounded upon the ancient Heathen *Orgia*. To these Conventicles, the Witches are said to come from far distant Countries, being carried through the Air, for which strange passage, they prepare their bodies with I know not what kind of oyntment; but I suppose it is made of the same ingredients, as that was, which turned *Lucian* into an Ass. Nor must ye doubt the Truth of these things, which the Holy Inquisition hath in several Countries at several Tryals of Witches

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Witches found to be true, as well from the testimony of Witnesses, as also from the self Confession of Delinquents.

But because the Inquisitors of Heretical Pravity (for so they are styled) have been pleased to vent these things into the world; It may not be amiss, nor besides our present purpose, to enquire into the Inquisitors themselves. The first time that I can hear News of them in History, is in the dayes of *Maximus*, who contended with *Theodosius* for the Empire: Though I confess an Inquisition was then but intended, not brought to effect. This *Maximus* was the first who put Hereticks to death, namely *Priscilian* and his Partners; by the perswasion of one *Ithacius*, and if it had not been for *St. Martin*, he would have sent Tribunes into *Spain*, with power to enquire or search for Hereticks, and to take away their lives and goods. In pro-

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cess of time, *Charlemain*, who was Crowned Emperour in the Eight hundredth year after Christ, did by his Laws or Capitulars, declare the Bishop of *Rome* to be Head of the Church. These Laws were therefore called Capitulars, because they were little Heads or Chapters extracted out of the Ancient Fathers and Councils: Nevertheless all those Capitulars which concerned the *Roman* Supremacy, were extracted out of counterfeit Authors, that cheat being put upon him by the Bishops of *Mentz*. About three hundred years afterwards, in the year One thousand one hundred twenty two, the Emperour *Henry* the fifth, was forced to resign his Power of Electing and Investing Bishops with the Staff and Ring into the hands of the Church; of which the *Roman* Bishop, being the publickly acknowledged and declared Head, did by this means obtain a greater Empire
and

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and power, then ever the Roman *Cæsars* had. This being perceived by the *Germane* Emperours, there was almost perpetual contention and war between them and the Bishops of *Rome*: But especially *Frederick* the second, who flourished in the beginning of the thirteenth Century, spent most of his Reign, and his utmost Endeavours, to take down the Church from overtopping the Empire. Nevertheless it was in his Reign, that the *Roman* Bishops did notably provide, for the security of their exorbitant power; Then it was, that *Frederick* the Second, when he was at *Padua*, made those unhappy Laws, whereby Hereticks were lyable to the punishment of death, of which Laws the Popes made very great advantage. Then it was that *Gregory* the ninth advanced the Authority of Canon or Pontifical Laws, by composing the Decretals with the

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help of his Chaplain *Raymund*. Lastly, then it was, that the Orders of *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Fryers were founded, to whom was committed the Inquisition after Hereticks.

Now these *Monks* at their first setting up for Inquisitors, as Father *Paul* hath observed, in his History of the Inquisition, had no Tribunal or Court of their own, but did only preach, and stir up Princes and People, engaging them into *Crusadoes* against Hereticks, by sewing a piece of red cloth in the form of a Cross upon their Garments: But *Innocent* the fourth, who began his Pontificate about the latter end of *Frederick* the second, observing the notable zeal of these Fryars, thought good to erect a Tribunal for them, that so they themselves might proceed to the Tryal of Hereticks. To bring this about, he had a fair opportunity upon the death of *Frederick*

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rick, by reason of the vacancy that then happened in the Empire many years. For now having no Emperour to controul him in *Italy*, he took the confidence to impose the Inquisition upon three several Provinces, (*viz.*) *Lombardia*, *Romaniela* and *Marchia Terversina*. There are extant several Bulls, written by *Innocent* the fourth unto the Magistrates of those Countries: One where he sets down the forementioned Laws of *Frederick* against Hereticks word for word, and commands them to be strictly observed: Nor can I blame him, for holding his Ecclesiastical Empire upon no other Title then the pretence of Religion; to be a Heretick must needs be the same thing to him, and his Successours, as to be a Traytor is to Temporal Princes. There is another Bull of his, wherein he enjoynes the Magistrates of the aforesaid Countries, to observe several Arti-

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cles or Constitutions relating to the Inquisition ; In which Articles, amongst other things, he ordains, that the Inquisitors shall have their Charges defrayed out of the goods of persons condemned ; and this way of satisfying the Inquisitors, he ordains in another peculiar Bull for that purpose. Hence it came to pass, that when the Inquisition had gotten foot in many Kingdomes and Countries, an incredible number of people were frequently tormented and burnt for the Crime of Witchcraft ; which they had so entwisted with Heresie, or the denyal of Pontifical Authority, that in seeking out Witches, in tormenting and putting them to death, they did at once gratifie, as well the ambition and usurped Power of their Lord the Pope, as their own insatiable covetousness, and thirst after other mens goods. In the year One thousand five hundred and eighteen, the Inquisitors
put

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put to death a great many Inchanters, which they had found out forsooth in the *Venetian Territories*: where such was the Extortion and Covetousness in their proceedings, that the Country rose up against them, and the Council after at *Venice* was fain to send for these Inquisitors to enquire into their proceedings; yet do what they could, the enraged people were hardly to be appeased. In the same year, I suppose it was, that upon the like occasion of the Countries Rising against an Inquisitor, and carrying him to the Bishop, *Alciat* a famous Civil-Lawyer gave his ingenious answer to the Bishop, who askt his advice herein, as may be seen in *Alciats Parerga*, where he handsomly describes the vain and monstrous credulity of some Divines in this question of Witchcraft. *Nicolaus Remingius* a *Lorrain* Judge, doth confess, that in the time of his Judicature, in the
space

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space of sixteen years, there was about eight hundred Witches put to death, besides as many more that escaped, either by timely running away, or by a constant enduring of torture. In a word, after the founding of the *Dominican* and *Franciscan* Fryars, and the setting up an Office of Inquisition, the world grew so full of Devils and Witches, that I am prone to assent unto the judgement of *Cardan*, who handling this business of Witches and Witchfinders, observed it to be full of Covetousness and folly, as any one may read in his Book, *De Varietate Rerum*.

CHAP.

Chap. III. Considered.

HOW grossly the opinion of Witchcraft, hath been made to serve the corrupt ends and interests of men, appears from nothing more, than from the strange examinations of Inquisitors. So strange that 'tis to me a wonder, if the Inquisitors can hold their countenances, and forbear from laughing at one another. This I am sure of, that (as *Episcopus* hath well observed) the confessions which they have extorted from some, do favour of the Pontifical rack, and seem to have been dictated unto these miserable wretches, by the very Inquisitors themselves; with a design to advance the reputation of the Virgin *Mary*, and the Sacraments of their own Church. Nay, so far did they proceed in this matter, that *Herésie* was

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was a sign of *Witchcraft* ; Inſomuch that any one who did not aſſent to the *Roman Church*, might have been upon this very queſtion, in danger of the Inquiſition. To this purpoſe *Del-Rio* the Jeſuite, in the Prologue to his *Magical Diſquiſitions* doth look upon *Lutheraniſm* and *Calviniſm*, as two great fountains of *Witchcraft*. But yet as the Inquiſitors did with one eye reſpect the advancement of their publique Church, ſo with the other they had a regard to their private Profit. For which their way was prepared by thoſe conſtitutions of the *Roman* Biſhops which ordered them to have their charges defrayed out of the goods of perſons condemned : For ye need not doubt but they would pay themſelves well. *Nicholaus Eymericus* in his Directory of the *Inquiſition*, Part the third, Queſtion the hundred and Eighth, doth enquire which way the Inquiſitors and their Officers,

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Officers, should be provided for as to their charges or expences. And there he saith some were of opinion that the Bishop of the place should provide for them. Others again thought it behoved the temporal Princes. But a third sort there were, who thought fit to provide for them out of the goods of persons condemned. Now this way though *Eymericus* approves as just, yet he doth not like it as being somewhat scandalous to the Office, and therefore he wisheth for any other way rather. Nevertheless *Innocent* the fourth, did not only like this way, but command it also by his Apostolique Letter directed to the Bishops of *Lombardy* and other *Italian* Countries, which begins thus, *Cum per nostras, &c.* as *Franciscus Pegna* doth record in his Comment on the Directory of *Eymericus*. This Letter was written in the year one thousand two hundred fifty two,
peculi-

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peculiarly for the maintenance of Inquisitors out of goods confiscated, as containing nothing else in it. But in the preceeding year, the same Pope had directed his Apostolique Letter, unto the Magistrates of the same Countries, beginning thus, *Ad extirpanda de medio, &c.* wherein amongst other things he ordains, how the goods of condemned persons should be distributed; Namely one part, to the common Treasure or Stock of the City or place; another part to the Officers, who were employed in the business: And a third part to be laid up in a safe place, and to be afterwards expended according as the Bishop & the Inquisitors should think fit. You may read these constitutions in that collection which the aforesaid *Franciscus Pegna* made, of the Letters which were written concerning the Office of Inquisition, by sundry Popes, for at least three hundred
and

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and seventy years ; that is, from about the year one thousand two hundred, or the beginning of *Innocent* the third, till about the year one thousand five hundred and seventy, or the latter end of *Pius* the Fifth. These things could never have been done, had not the Bishops of *Rome* by various methods and sundry policies, raised themselves from an Episcopal Chair, to a regal and an Imperial Throne. Now because the reader may plainly see, what work these Inquisitors made when they had once gotten power into their hands, I shall here set down word for word, the sentence of the Inquisition at *Avignon*, whereby they delivered several persons, into the hands of the secular Magistrate, to be punished for the Crime of Witchcraft.

*Visis processibus coram N.N.N. &c.
contra nobis constitutos reos, accusa-
tos, & delatos : quibus tam per ve-
stram,*

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stram, & quorumlibet vestrum relationem, ac propriam confessionem judicialiter coram nobis factam, atque sæpius repetitam juramento vestro medio: quam per testium depositiones, eorumque accusationes, & alias legitimas probationes, ex dictis, actis & processu resultantes, nobis legitime consistit, & constat, quod vos, & vestrum quilibet, Deum nostrum omnium Creatorem & Opificem, Unum & Trinum abnegastis: & immitem Diabolum, hostem antiquum humani generis coluistis, vosque illi perpetuo devovistis: & sacratissimo Baptismati, & his qui in eo fuerant susceptores levantes, & proparentes, vestrique Patres paradisi, & æternæ hereditatis, quam pro vobis & toto genere humano Dominus noster Jesus Christus sua morte acquisivit, coram præfato Cacodemone, in humana specie existente, abrenunciastis: infundente ipso rugiente Diabolo denno aquam, quam acceperistis, vestro vero mutato nomine

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nomine in sacro Baptismatis fonte
vobis imposito, sicque aliud commen-
ticiū nomen vobis imponi fictitio
baptismate passi fuistis, & accepistis :
atque in pignus fidei Dæmoni datæ
vestimentorum vestrorum fragmen-
tum & particulam illi dedistis : & ut
a libro vitæ vos deleri & obliterari
pater mendacij curaret, signa vestra
propria manu, ipso mandante et juben-
te, in reproborum damnatorum, mor-
tisque perpetuæ libro nigerrimo ad hoc
parato apposuistis : & ut ad tantam
perfidiā & impietatem vos majori
vinculo devinciret, notam vel stigma
cuilibet vestrum, veluti rei suæ pro-
priæ inussit : & illius mandatis &
jussis jurejurando, super circulo (quod
Divinitatis symbolum est) in terram
sculpto (quæ scabellum pedum Dei est)
per vos & quemlibet vestrum præstito,
vos obstrinxistis signo Dominico &
cruce conculcato : & illi parendo,
adminiculo baculi, quodam nefan-
dissimo unguento ab ipso Diabolo vobis

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*præscripto illiti, cruribus & positi per
 aera ad locum constitutum, intempesta
 nocte, hora commoda malefactoribus,
 statisque diebus ab ipso tentatore por-
 tati & translati fuistis : ibique in
 communi synagoga plurimorum malefi-
 corum sortilegorum, & hæreticorum
 fascinariorum, cultorumque Dæmo-
 num, accenso igne tetro, post multas
 jubilationes, saltationes, comessatio-
 nes, compotationes & ludos, in hono-
 rem ipsius Præsidentis Beelzebub Prin-
 cipis Dæmoniorum, in formam &
 speciem fœdissimi & nigerrimi hirci
 immutati. ut Deum, re & verbis ado-
 rastis ; & ad illum complicatis geni-
 bus supplices accessistis, & candelas
 piceas accensas obtulistis, & illius fœ-
 tidissimum ac turpissimum anum (proh
 pudor !) summa cum reverentia ore
 sacrilego deosculati estis : illumque
 sub veri Dei nomine invocastis : illi-
 usque auxilium, & pro vindicta in
 omnes, vobis vel infensos, vel petita
 denegantes, exercenda efflagitastis :
 atque*

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atque ab ipso edocti vindictas, maleficia, fascinationes tum in humanas creaturas, tum etiam in animalia exercuistis, atque homicidia infantium quamplurima commisistis, imprecationes, ablaetationes, tabes & alios gravissimos morbos; ope jam dicti Sathanæ, immisistis, infantesque per vos, nonnullis etiam scientibus tantum & annuentibus, arte jam dicta malefica oppressos, confossos & interfectos fuisse, ac demum in cœmiterio sepultos noctu & clam exhumaistis, atque in synagogum prædictam, facinariorum collegium portaistis: denique Dæmoniorum Principi in solio sedenti, obtulistis, detracta & vobis conservata pinguedine, capite manibus & pedibus abscissis, truncumque decoqui & elixari, & interdum assari curastis, jubenteque ac mandante præfato Patre vestro comediistis, & damnabiliter devoraistis: mala denique malis addendo, vos viri cum succubis, vos mulieres cum incubis fornicati estis, So-

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domiam veram & nefandissimum crimen misere cum illis tactu frigidissimo exercuistis: &, quod etiam detestabilissimum est, augustissimum Eucharistiæ Sacramentum per vos in Ecclesia sancta Dei aliquando sumptum, jam dicti Serpentis a Paradiso ejecti præcepto, in ore retinuistis, illudque in terram nefarie expuistis, ut cum majori omnis contumeliæ, impietatis & contemptus specie Deum nostrum verum & sanctum debonestaretis, ipsum vero Diabolum, ejusque gloriam, honorem, triumphum & regnum promoveritis, atque omni honore, laudibus, dignitate, auctoritate et adoratione honoraretis, decoraretis et honestaretis. Quæ omnia gravissima, horrendissima ac nefandissima sunt, directe in Omnipotentis Dei omnium Creatoris contumeliam & injuriam. Quam ob causam nos F. Florus Provincialis Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctör, ac Sanctæ Fidei in tota ista Legatione

Avi-

Witchcraft debated. 75

*Avinionensi Inquisitor Generalis : Dei
timorem præ oculis habentes, pro tri-
bunali sedentes, per hanc nostram sen-
tentiam diffinitivam, quam, de Theo-
logorum & Jurisperitorum consilio,
more majorum, in his ferimus scriptis,
Jesu Christi Domini nostri, ac B. Ma-
riæ Virginis nominibus pie invocatis
dicimus, declaramus, pronunciamus,
et diffinitive sententiamus : Vos om-
nes supra nominatos, et vestrum quem-
libet fuisse & esse veros Apostatas, Ido-
lolas, Sanctissimæ Fidei desertores,
Dei Omnipotentis abnegatores & con-
temptores, Sodomiticos, et nefandissi-
mi criminis reos, adulteros, fornica-
tores, sortilegos, maleficos, sacrilegos,
hæreticos, fascinarios, homicidas, in-
fanticidas, Dæmonumque cultores,
Satanicæ diabolicæ atque infernalis
disciplinæ, & damnabilis ac reproba-
tæ fidei assertores, blasphemos, perju-
ros, infames, & omnium malorum,
facinorum & delictorum convictos fu-
isse. Ideo vos omnes, vestrumque*

F 3

quem-

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*quemlibet, tanquam Satanae membra,
hac nostra sententia, Curiae seculari re-
mittimus, realiter et in effectu condig-
nis et legitimis pœnis eorum peculiari
judicio plectendos.*

Now others may think what they please of this Sentence, but for my own part when I Consider with my self, the ridiculousness of those things which were laid to the charge of these miserable wretches; I would not have been in the place of the Inquisitor general, and have passed the same sentence, for ten thousand Millions of Gold.

CHAP. IV.

Arguments to prove, that there is no such thing as a Witch in Scripture; and Arguments to prove that there is no such thing as a Witch at all.

BY this time methinks It plainly appears, out of the preceeding Discourse, that the notion of a Witch, as it is taken now adayes, hath no foundation at all in Scripture; but had its Original, or first Rise, out of the Heathenish Fables, and was afterwards improved by Papal impostures. Nevertheless, to give further satisfaction, I shall produce some arguments to prove, first, That a Witch is not to be found in Scripture: Secondly, That there is

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no such thing as a Witch at all.

The first Argument shall be taken from the difference, between our vulgarly reputed Witches, and those which our Translatours of the Bible call so; for whom I pray do our Translatours call Witches, but the Kings and Queens and Princes of the Earth, as also the Priests and Philosophers and wise men of this world? Whereas the Witches now adayes are poor, silly, contemptible people; for instead of such as King *Manasses*, and Queen *Jesebel*, we now hear talk of this old Gammer and that old Goodwife. It seems the Kingdom of darkness is quite altered in its Politicks, and the Devil is not so wise as some men make him, if this Opinion of Witchcraft be true.

The second Argument shall be taken from the *Sadduces*, a famous Sect amongst the Jews, who denied Spirits, and the Resurrection of the dead

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dead ; yet had the five Books of *Moses* in high esteem and regard : Wherefore either they did not understand Hebrew, or if they did, the notion of Witchcraft doth not appear in *Moses* : And if this be once granted, I suppose the other parts of the Bible will easily follow : But perhaps you'l object and say, that the *Sadduces* were a Sect after the Captivity, which kept the Jews so long in *Babylon* that they forgot their own Tongue ; and that the *Jews* after their return into *Judea*, spake not the *Hebrew* but the vulgar *Syrian*. To this I answer, That when the Sect of the *Sadduces* took its beginning is uncertain, and that however the Common People did forget the Old *Hebrew*, yet the Priests did alwayes preserve its knowledge. Now that Priests themselves were *Sadduces* is manifest, for even the High Priest *Joseph Hyrcanus* was one of that Sect, as *Josephus* testifies.

The

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The third and last Argument shall be taken from the different practises ascribed unto our vulgarly supposed Witches, and unto those in our Translation of the Bible: For our modern Witches practise a secret occult Art, and 'tis a great Art to discover them by several strange signs and horrid tortures: But those whom our Translators call Witches in the Bible, were such as practised what they did openly, and in the face of the world, making publick profession of their Art, which was, as I have already made it appear, the Counterfeit Art of Propheying and working Miracles. But alas! had it been this mysterious Art of contracting with the Devil, and of using his power, the Professors whereof are so clandestine in their wayes, that they can hardly be discovered by various scrutinies and inquiries; how impossible a thing had it been, for *Saul* to turn them all out of *Israel*

rael

Witchcraft debated. 81

rael, as we read he did, 1 *Sam.* 28. This I am sure of, a Proclamation now adayes set out to that purpose, would avail nothing, and only serve to move the laughter of those who stood by to hear it.

If then there be no such thing as a Witch in Scripture, I shall make use of that as the first argument, to prove that there is no such thing as a Witch at all. Nor let any one that abounds with words, and his own sense; immediately cry out; then there is no such River as *Thames*, there is no such Country as *America*, if silence in Scripture serves for an argument. A man may make such instances from morning to night, and make a great noise to no purpose; as if there were no difference between those things which lye quite besides the scope of the Scriptures notice, and those things which if they be true, the Scriptures could not be silent of, without the charge
of

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of imperfection. Let any one but read the Law of *Moses*, and then seriously consider, why it should be so severe against incestuous and bestial Concubinage, and yet not so much as mention diabolical. The Jews were forbid to meddle with strange women of other Nations, and should there be no caution given against their meddling with strange creatures, as it were of another world? Mark how curious the Law is in matters of uncleanness, and shall an ordinary running Issue be so much talkt of, and no mention made of Teats running with blood and suckt by Devils? Lastly, that Law which by its years of Jubilee, and several other Constitutions, provided more against oppression and cruelty than any other Law in the world; That Law which so detested the murther of men, that it made them merciful to their neighbours beasts; (I say that Law) could never pass over
in

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in silence, the cruel and abominable actions of Witches against both man and beast. Without question, it would have inflicted upon them the severest punishments; and for the discovery of their secret and devilish contracts, it would have laid down sufficient marks for tryal; especially since in a far less matter of adultery, it made use of that horrible and amazing tryal, by the bitter water which caused the Curse.

Secondly, I argue from the miserable poverty of our vulgarly reputed Witches, that they are wrongfully accused: For I am not willing to believe, that they have such a power with the Devil, as to make him do wonderful things at their command, when they never command him to fetch them money, and to fetch them bread; indeed in the night time he carries them I know not whither, and there they meet with great variety of imagination
ry

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ry mirth and feasting. Now such as their Feast is, so is their Witchcraft, not real, but imaginary, as only existing in the foolish fancies of men.

In the third place, I charge those who obstinately maintain there are Witches, either with irrationality or impiety; For 'tis irrational to think, that the Devils are Creatures full of malice, and breathing nought but mischief against the whole Race of man, and that they suffer a man to live, when they can so easily kill us at the command of a Witch. But if you evade this, by saying, that Devils cannot hurt us without Gods permission; then I say 'tis impious to concern the Great God with Witchcraft. 'Tis true indeed, he may send Death and Diseases amongst the Sons of men, to punish them for their sins at his own pleasure; but that he should do so, at the desire of the Devil, upon the command

Witchcraft debated. 85

command of a Witch, is such a gratification of malice, as is far from God to perform. *Calvin* in his Sermons on the two first Chapters of *Job*, takes a great deal of pains to explode this Opinion of Gods permission, and shews by several examples of *Absolom*, *Ahab*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, that God doth not barely permit, but orders and determines the actions of Devils and wicked men; affirming that if Asses could speak, they would speak wiser then those men, who talk of Gods permitting: Nor will he grant, that God afflicted *Job* upon Satans request, but because he himself had so determined, to try *Jobs* Patience.

Lastly, the vanity and falseness of their Opinion, who believe there are Witches, appears from nothing more then from this, that it ascribes unto the Devil an Omnipotent Power: Insomuch, that no rational man by
the

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the light of reason, shall be able to tell from the History of the Gospel, whether Christ were a Witch or no; for let some men think what they please, the Holiness of his Doctrine is not the thousandth part such a proof of his acting by a Divine Power, as the miraculoufness of his works. But alas! what were his Miracles, or how were they to be valued, if malicious Creatures, without a Divine Commission enabling them thereto, can make Frogs and Serpents, raise the dead, give Law unto the winds and Seas; to mention no more of those prodigious works ascribed unto Devils upon the account of Witchcraft? For my part, I believe that Devils are aerial creatures; and though they may have more skill, agility and strength, then men, yet that they act as men do, by applying of natural agents and patients to one another in this sublunary world: But as for the world
Ætherial

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Ætherial and Cælestial, I suppose they have no power there; consequently, that in spight of them, the wind bloweth where it listeth, and that the seasons of the year, as also the fruits of the earth, are neither promoted nor hindred by them, but immediately depend upon the motions and mutual aspects of the glorious Cælestial Stars, that are no way obnoxious to diabolical powers. They who think otherwise, let them consider how near they approach unto the Opinion of the *Persians*, who held there were two great Beings, both Almighty, both at mutual and perpetual war; one, the Author of all good, the other, of all evil: The good Principle they called *Oromasdes*, and the evil one *Arimanius*. Of the same Opinion were the *Egyptians*, as appears by *Osiris* and *Typhon*; from them *Pythagoras* conveighed it to *Greece*. In a word, the whole Heathen world seems to

G have

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have been infected with this conceit, believing infernal as well as supernal Gods; and therefore they had sacrifices, as well to appease the anger, and to avert the mischiefs of the one, as to propitiate and procure the blessings of the other. Nor can those Christians be excused from the same infection, who upon the account of Witchcraft, attribute omnipotency to the Devil; for what less do they believe, concerning the Prince of the Devils, and of his power? If according to them, he can command the influence of the Sun, and govern the motion of the Stars; if he can open the bowels of the earth, and cause the vapours to ascend in clouds into the middle Region of the Air, and thence again descend upon the earth, in thunder and lightning, and violent storms; if he can transform men and women into Cats, and if he can Frogs and Serpents create.

Wherefore

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Wherefore I conclude, it was a very seasonable decree, made by the Council of *Ancyra*, more ancient then the *Nicene* Council ; wherein they declare unto all Christians, the Heathenishness of this belief and opinion : Their words are these ; *Illud etiam non est omittendum, quod quædam sceleratæ mulieres retro post Satanum conversæ, demonum illusionibus & phantasmatibus seductæ, credunt & profitentur, se nocturnis horis, cum Diana Paganorum Dea, vel cum Herodiade, & innumera multitudine mulierum, equitare super quasdam bestias, & multa terrarum spatia intempestæ noctis spatio pertransire, ejusque jussionibus velut Domina obedire, & certis noctibus ad ejus servitium evocari: Sed utinam hæc sole in sua perfidia periissent, & non multos secum in infidelitatis interitum pertraxissent: Nam innumera multitudo hac falsa opinione decepta, hæc vera esse credit, & credendo a recta fide*
G 2 *deviat,*

deviat, & in errore Paganorum re-
 volvitur, cum aliquid divinitatis aut
 numinis extra unum Deum arbitra-
 tur. Quapropter sacerdotes per Ec-
 clestas sibi commissas, populo omni in-
 stantia prædicare debent, ut noverint
 hæc omnimodis esse falsa, & non a Di-
 vino sed a maligno spiritu talia phan-
 tasmata, mentibus fidelium irrogari.
 Siquidem ipse Satanas qui transfigu-
 rat se in Angelum lucis, cum mentem
 cujusque mulierculæ ceperit, & hanc
 sibi per infidelitatem subjugaverit, illi-
 co transformat se in diversarum perso-
 narum species atque similitudines, &
 mentem quam captivam tenet in som-
 nis deludens, modo leta, modo tristia,
 modo cognitas, modo incognitas per-
 sonas ostendens, per devia quaq; dedu-
 cit. Et cum solus spiritus hoc patitur,
 Infidelis mens hoc non in animo, sed
 in corpore opinatur evenire. Quis
 enim non in somnis & nocturnis visio-
 nibus extra se educitur, & multa vi-
 det dormiendo, quæ nunquam viderat
 vigilando.

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vigilando. Quis vero tam stultus & hebes est, qui hæc omnia quæ in solo spiritu fiunt, etiam in corpore accidere arbitretur; cum Ezechiel Propheta visiones Domini in spiritu, non in corpore, vidit? Et Johannes Apostolus Apocalypsis, Sacramentum in spiritu, non in corpore, vidit, & audivit, sicut ipse dicit, statim inquit fui in spiritu. Et Paulus non audet dicere se raptum in corpore. Omnibus itaque publice annunciandum est, quod qui talia & his similia credit, fidem perdit; & qui fidem rectam in Domino non habet, hic non est ejus, sed illius in quem credit, id est, Diaboli. Nam de Domino nostro scriptum est, Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. Quisquis ergo credit posse fieri aliquam creaturam, aut in melius, aut in deterius immutari, aut transformari in aliam speciem vel similitudinem, nisi ab ipso Creatore qui omnia fecit, & per quem omnia facta sunt, procul dubio infidelis est, Pagano deterior. 'Tis true indeed,

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the Pontifical Authors make a great stir in their Answers to this decree of the *Ancyran* Council; sometimes endeavouring to evade its force with their absurd interpretations, sometimes to throw dirt in the face of the Council, as if it were not to be regarded: But *Alciat* in his *Parrerga* doth ingeniously confess, that in these their answers, *Nec Cælum, nec Terram attingunt*, they have neither head nor tayl. And which is more to be wondred at, *Martin Delrio* the Jesuite is in this point so ingenious, as to dissent from *Baronius*, who judgeth that this Council was held at *Rome*, under *Damasdus*, in the dayes of *St. Hierome*; *Delrio* for sundry reasons, believing it to have been really held at *Ancyra*, the *Metropolis* of *Galatia*, according to the common assertion of those who collected the ancient *Cannons*.

Now this Decree of the *Ancyran* Council, was the more seasonable,

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in regard that a little before, *Manes* or *Manichæus* had spread abroad the Christian world, that old Heathenish Doctrine of the two Principles, one of good, and the other of evil: and it is remarkable, that Witches and *Manichæans* are coupled together, by the Emperours *Dioclessan* and *Maximian*, in their Rescript to *Julian* the Proconsul of *Africa*, de *Maleficis & Manichæis*, as it is cited out of the *Gregorian Code* by *Rufinus* in his Collation of the *Jewish* with the *Roman* Laws. About a hundred years after, and somewhat more, *Priscillian* and his followers did in a great measure embrace the Doctrine of *Manes*; insomuch, that in the year five hundred sixty three, there was a Council held at *Bracara*, a town of *Gallicia* in *Spain*, against the *Priscillianists*. In the Decrees of this Council, *Manes* and *Priscillian* are frequently joyned together, for their foolish conceits

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concerning the power of the Devil, or evil Principle; but especially they have one Decree, very considerable to our present purpose, wherein they anathematize all those, who believe that the Devil can make any Creature, or so much as raise storms and tempests by his own authority or power; the words are these, *Si quis credit, quod aliquantas in mundo creaturas Diabolus fecerit, & tonitrua, & fulgura, & tempestates, & siccitates, ipse Diabolus sua autoritate faciat, sicut Priscillianus dixit, Anathema sit*: Wherefore if the Devil cannot raise thunder and lightning and tempests by his own power, he did no more in the case of *Job*, then *Eliab*, or any mortal man may do, when he receives a commission from God. Hence I infer, that the Doctrine of Witchcraft, magnifying the Diabolical Power beyond its due proportion, doth favour too rankly of *Priscillian* and *Manes*, and the Heathen world. Chap.

Chap. IV. *Considered.*

THE First Argument if rightly understood, is so firm and sure, that I never expect a sufficient answer. Let any one but consider with himself, the persons now a days condemned for Witches, and then let him tell me, whether one of a thousand be a person of quality. They are generally old women poor miserable and despicable. I confess that before the restauration of Learning, in the times of Barbarism and ignorance, there were some who were thought to deal with the Devil, meerly because they excelled in knowledge, as Pope *Sylvester* for one; who lived about a thousand years after Christ. I confess also that now and then in the Courts of Princes, some have been accused for Witchcraft out of Politick ends.

So

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So *Richard* the third would needs make *Jane Shore* a Witch in order to the Design which he had on the life of the Lord *Hastings*. Nevertheless it hath been for these many ages, and still is a thing very rare, for persons of note to be charged with the Crime of Witchcraft. Now on the contrary, in our Translation of the Bible we Read of Witches indeed, but who were they? Why either they were sovereign Princes, Or they were the Priests, Philosophers and wise men of the World, there being no mention of any other, except the Woman that dwelt at *Endor*. The truth is when I think with my self, how ready the Sorcerers were to *Pharaoh* King of *Ægypt*, and *Nebucadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, They seem unto me to be a sort of men, bred up in the Court; Just as to this day in the *Turkish* Empire, (which in many things doth resemble the ancient *Monarchyes*)
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the Great *Turks Seraglio* is the *Academy*, from whence proceed the Governors of Church and State. for so these Sorcerers seem to have been in antient times, the great Ministers of Church and State. Nor will this Opinion of mine, seem strange unto those who Read the Book of *Daniel* and well observe it. There we may find, by the example of *Daniel* and the *Three Children*, the way how the *Magicians* were bred up of old. Namely they were chosen men for goodness of parts, they were bred up at Court, fed with the Kings Wine and the Kings Meat, Instructed in all manner of Learning, and afterwards according as they approved themselves to their Royal Master, they were advanced to the Supreamest places of Government. For it is plain that Sorcerers, Magicians, Astrologers, *Chaldeans* and the like, were all the same sort of men; and that *Daniel* and

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and his Companions were lookt upon as such: Otherwise they had never been sought after to have been slain among the rest, when the Kings decree went out against the wise Men. Nay, what say ye, if *Daniel* himself at last came to be so famous, that he was made the Master or Prince of the Magicians? These things being so, let any one lay aside prejudice, and then let him tell me, whether these famous men which our Translators call Sorcerers, and our modern old Women that are hanged for Witches, have any likeness or resemblance to one another; and whether or no, my argument be not strong and good, wherein I conclude it as a great sign, that the Witch in our Translation of the Scripture, could not be the same with our modern reputed Witch; because of the vast difference which may be observed, in their quality and in the education of their persons. This I
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am sure of that skill in Ancient Magick, was so honourable, that it was a condition required in all such, as were capable to be chosen Kings of *Persia*.

The Second Argument is not so strong I confess, but that it might have been spared; because it is easie to undervalue the Sadduces, as an erroneous Sect. However 'tis plain, that not only they, but we also must necessarily interpret the Scriptures in several places, to speak according to the apprehension of the vulgar. For when the Law of *Moses* doth forbid men, to consult with the dead; We must not think that any could really do so. So that the Law only forbids the pretenders to that art, who by such pretenses deluded the people. In like manner though I should grant, that in this precept, *thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*, the Hebrew word is rightly Translated by our English word Witch; yet
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it would not follow, that there was any such thing as a Witch indeed. It would only follow, that the vulgar did believe there was, being deluded by those who for their own ends might pretend to such an Art.

To the Third Argument some men do answer, that 'tis an unlikely thing, Witchcraft should be practised openly, when there was so severe a Law against it as this. *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live.* Truly I shall easily grant, that when this Law was in force, then the Idol Priests were not permitted to play those pranks, which we interpret Witchcraft. But 'tis apparent, out of the History of the Kings of *Judah*, that they frequently rejected the Law of *Moses*, and setting up Idols did consequently encourage those kind of men, who were necessary instruments for the performance of Idolatious worship. Then again in the time of reformation, when the
Law

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Law of *Moses* was restored: frequently down went the Idols, and their Priests were either slain or banished, as also all that practised the same impostures. Now the Witch of *Endor* might escape, by the connivance perhaps of *Saul's* officers, yet it appears plain, that those who were said to have familiar Spirits, and to be turned out of the Land by *Saul*, were people of a known profession. Otherwise, there could not have been any considerable execution done upon them, so as to deserve the expression, that *Saul* had turned them out of the Land. And this will further appear, out of the actions of *Josiah*, who when he threw down Idols and did other acts of reformation; is said at the same time, to have put away the workers with familiar spirits; which he could never have done so soon, had they been such secret and occult practisers as our pretended Witches,
but

but he must have tarried till such times as he could first discover them.

Having already shewed that there is no such thing as a Witch in Scripture. This First Argument that from thence doth prove, there is no such thing as a Witch at all, I think is past exception. For when the Law of *Moses* takes notice of lesser things, it would never have passed over in silence, things of greater moment, if they had been true. Diabolical Copulation being worse than bestial, and bloody Teats suckt by Devils, far worse than ordinary Issues. But of all I most admire, that those Nations which have believed Witchcraft, have also believed and made experiment of certain signs for its discovery. Yet never any could think of a sign to discover adultery. Only the Law of *Moses*, which is so curious in the discovery of Adultery, hath past by all those
many

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many signs, which are commonly made use of for the discovery of Witchcraft.

Against this Second Argument. I never heard any thing but canting stuff, which passeth my understanding. But there is one way of answering it very easie, because it will serve to answer any thing. Namely that which is taken, from the two common places, wherein ignorance is wont to hide it self. I mean on the one hand, mysterious ways of Providence; as also on the other hand, the unknown designs of the Kingdom of darknes.

The Third Argument I confess, would have been stronger and better urged, if I had not insisted on the Devils killing of men, at the desire of a Witch; but rather on such actions, as are undoubtedly beyond the power of a Creature to perform. For it is impious to affirm, that the Devil can raise the dead.

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or Create and the like, for in these cases, if the Devil performed any thing, it must be not by Gods permission, but his Commission, as the Prophets and Apostles did of old. That is God must do it for him: Which gratification of an old Womans malice, is wholly inconsistent with Divine goodness.

The Last Argument is of exceeding great weight, if we rightly consider the wonderful and astonishing works, which in all ages have been ascribed unto Witches. What Miracle is there of Christ, which they have not equalled? To be born of a Virgin, is a thing that deserves the highest admiration. Yet if you'll believe the assertors of Witchcraft in their Writings, The Devil may as a *Succubus* receive the seed of a man, and presently as an *Incubus* convey it into the Womb of a Virgin. Hence it is that *Delrio* inveighs against the *Calvinists*, for not believing

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ing that the Virgin *Maryes* Hymen was entire after Christ was born. As if the force of the Miracle lay in that particular consideration, and not in her being with Child, without the help of a man. I am not ignorant, that some men will gravely say, they do not believe, that Devils can get Women with Child, or that they can do any real miracle. To these men I must still make the same answer, that I do not care what they believe, but what hath been generally believed in all ages. And therefore I shall conclude that since Holiness of Doctrine, may out of a bad design proceed from an unholy spirit; tis dangerous to depreciate the Miracles of Christ; by setting up others of equal value, notwithstanding any pretence of Holiness in the one, and unholiness in the other.

This I have done with the arguments, which I brought against
H 2 Witchcraft,

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Witchcraft, and shall now consider what hath been objected against my using the authority of the *Ancyran* Councel. Some say that I have not quoted the *Ancyran* decree faithfully, but have left out what makes against me. Wherefore now to please them, I shall set down the beginning of the decree which before was left out. The Words are these.

Ut Episcopi eorumque ministri omnibus viribus elaborare studeant, ut perniciosam & a diabolo inventam, sortilegam & maleficam artem, Irenitus ex parochiis suis eradicent. Et si aliquem virum aut feminam, huiusmodi sceleris sectatorem invenerint; turpiter de honestatum de parochiis suis ejiciant. Ait enim Apostolus; Hæreticum hominem post secundam et tertiam correptionem evita. Sciens quia subversus est, qui ejusmodi est. Subpersi sunt & a diabolo capti tenentur, qui direlicto creatore suo, a diabolo suffragia quærent. Et ideo a tali peste, mundari

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mundari decet sanctam Ecclesiam. In these words I would fain know, what there is that makes against me. Unless any one believes that by *Ars Malefica*, they meant Witchcraft in our modern sense. But tis apparent they did not so, by the last clause of their decree, wherein they declare that he is an Infidel and worse than a Pagan, who believes that any one besides the Creator, can either make a Creature, or transform it into any other sort of likeness. By these words it appears, how much they dissent from the common opinion concerning Witches which makes them able to transform themselves & others into the likeness of beasts. The common opinion doth also believe that Witches do on certain nights ride through the air to places far remote, and perform service to the Devil. This in like manner the Councel doth deny. So that when we read in their decree *maleficam*

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artem, he must not understand the vulgar Witchcraft, but something of another meaning. Now what that meaning is, I suppose may be gathered out of the decree, which *Constantius* the Emperour and *Julianus Cæsar* made unto the people, as may be seen in the *Theodosian* and *Justin. Codes*. I shall set it down word for word. *Nemo haruspicem consulat, aut Mathematicum; Nemo hariolum, Auguram & Vatem, prava confessio conticescat. Chaldæi, & magi, & ceteri, quos maleficos ob facinorum magnitudinem vulgus appellat, nec ad hanc partem aliquid moliantur. Sileat omnibus perpetuo divinandi curiositas. Etenim supplicio capitis tenetur, gladio ultore prostratus, quicumque jussis nostris obsequium denegaverit.* Here we may see, that judicial Astrology, observing of Birds, & observing the entrails of sacrificed beasts, are amongst other things, censured as *maleficæ artes*. I say amongst other things, for besides

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sides these therewere several ways of divination that came under the same censure. I shal only mention *sortilegium*, or that kind of Lottery which was performed by the opening some book or other, and observing the place which first opened it self. The Heathens would make use of *Homer* and *Virgil*, The Christians made use the Old and New Testament, calling this way of divination, *sortes sanctorum*, and *sortes Apostolorum*.

By this time me thinks it plainly appears, that the *Ancyran* Councel in the beginning of their Decree, did only forbid the Heathen Religion or Superstition and that they did not intend our modern Witchcraft, which in the latter end of their decree they plainly evacuate by taking away its chief ingredients. The truth hereof did so appear unto many Pontifical Writers, that they either quarrel with the Councel its self or with this decree. Amongst

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the rest *Delrio*, whom I said to be more ingenious than *Baronius*, in acknowledging the Decree to belong to the Council of *Ancyra* whereas *Baronius* refers it to a Roman Council under Pope *Damasus*, I say *Delrio* is by no means ingenious in mutilating the Decree by rejecting the greater part thereof, namely that which makes against those opinions of Witches and Witchcraft which he endeavours to maintain in his *Magical Disquisitions*. But I am still of *Alciats* opinion that those who have endeavoured to answer this Decree of the *Ancyran* Council have said nothing to the purpose.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

*An Answer to their Arguments
who endeavour to prove there
are Witches.*

ANd now it is worth the while to consider, what these men can say for themselves, who so obstinately maintain there are Witches. For they being on the affirmative part, are bound by the Laws of disputation, to prove what they affirm; and 'tis sufficient for their adversaries to confute their proofs: But alas! these men are generally ignorant of the History of Ages that are gone and past, and of the Scriptures also, as to what concerns the question in hand: Wherefore they are wont to wave arguments, and to cry out, this is a question

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question not to be disputed on, in regard it is a matter of fact, and consequently the object of sense, not of reason. Thus when they are got to their Castle of defence, they make a great noise, and cry out upon the unreasonableness of those men, who will not believe what so many worshipful persons in the world have heard and seen. And what is that I pray? Why they have heard Trumpets sound, and Drums beat, when neither Trumpeter nor Drummer have been near the place. They have seen chairs and stools move up and down a room, when no body toucht them, and many other things as strange. Thus will they tell stories of this nature from morning to night if you please, though when they have done, they say nothing to the purpose. For suppose that all these stories were unquestionably true, yet they would not suffice to prove Witchcraft. I confess indeed they

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they would evince the being of Spirits, a thing which no wise man can deny, though he doth not believe it: For it is one thing to doubt, and another to deny. For my own part I firmly believe, there are many thousands of spirits, made of an incorporeal matter, too fine to be perceived by the senses of men. Nor will I gain-say the Authority of so many in the world, who affirm they have seen and heard the strange things which I just now mentioned; supposing that these spirits may often play mad pranks amongst us. But still I demand a reason, why I should believe that they do so, upon the account of a Contract made with any man or woman; for till this is proved, the question of Witchcraft stands unconcerned.

Well then, how do the affirmers of it go about to prove, that any man or woman is interested in these Devilish pranks? why truly by telling
such

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such stories as these; namely, that persons tormented by Devils, have fallen into their fits, at the sight, or upon the touch of suspected Witches: As also that persons thus tormented, have seen the suspected Witches in this or that place of a room, where no body else could see any thing at all; that the standers by, having stroke with swords or knives at the places where the Witches were said to be, the bewitched parties have cryed out, that the Witches were wounded in such and such parts of their bodies, though their bodies were then many miles distant; and that some immediately, going to their habitations to see, have found it true.

Now here it is to be observed, that these kind of stories are far different from those which I said before did evince the being of Spirits; for they are attested by numerous authorities, and worthy of credit: But these

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these are quite contrary, and are founded partly in the juggling delusions of confederated impostors, partly again in the errors or ridiculous mistakes of vulgar rumours: Just as the City of *London*, hath been confidently reported to be attempted with a Fire-ball, when a poor Linck-boy knocking of his Link, had left part of its flames blazing in a door. Nevertheless, that I may not be too strict with my advesaries, and to do them a courtesie meerly for the disputation sake, I care not if I grant, that some of these stories are true, Namely, that there have been persons vexed by Devils at the sight, or upon the touch of suspected Witches, and quiet again when they were parted; for though should grant this, I see no reason yet to grant there are Witches, but rather to conclude, that these spirits, who are so frolick and gamesome in doing us mischief, when they perceive

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ceive persons suspected to have set them a work, may on purpose so mannage their malicious tricks, as to confirm the suspicion, promote the accusation, procure the condemnation of these miserable wretches, and then may count this the cream of their malicious jest, or the height of their frolick, to see poor innocent people hang'd. Now this answer of mine, although it be needless, and *ex-abundanti*, is far more easie and unconstrained, then any thing that the contrary opinion shall answer to those objections, which may be made against that absurd and ridiculous conceit, of wounding the Witches body at many miles distance.

Again, they are wont to say, for the proof of Witchcraft, that immediately upon the threatning or cursing, used by this or that person, such or such an accident hath hapned to the party so threatned and cursed. Those men would do well to consider,

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sider, that this world hath stood many thousands of years, and is of vast extent, containing many Countries or Nations full of men, and with diverse interests and passions; wherefore it is not to be wondered at, if there hath often hapned in it a notable concurrence of events.

'Tis certain, that poor old people when they are abused by the insulting petulancy of others, being unable to right themselves either at Law or at Combate, for want of money and strength of body, do often times vent the passion of their discontented souls in threats and curses. 'Tis also certain, that many men troubled with Diseases of the head, or Diseases of the heart, do seem to be in perfect health, and yet fall down dead on a sudden. Now if these two accidents should meet together, I should see nothing but what is natural, nor should I cry out upon the Devil and Witchcraft.

But

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But methinks I hear some men object and say with a great deal of vehemence and confidence; what need there be any dispute about these stories, since parties themselves have confessed their own Witchcraft; and can there be any thing clearer then self- confession?

To this I answer, that the wisest men in the world, may by imprisonment and torture be brought to confess any thing, whether it be true or false; as many miserable Creatures, confessing themselves Witches, have had their Confessions extorted from them by such cursed means. Besides, I do not doubt, but some poor, silly, melancholick old wretches, have really believed themselves Witches, and not to be guilty of those actions, which not only their foolish neighbours, but worshipful men in the World have charged them with. Nor is it to be wondred at by any one that considers the strange effects
of

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of melancholly, especially if it hath been heightened by poverty, or want of good diet, by ignorance, solitariness, and old age : For that such kind of people take their very dreams to be real visions and truths, I am sure, not only by consequences drawn from their actions reported in Books, but by the experience also of my own acquaintance. The truth is, want of knowledge in the Art of Physick makes men attribute unto Spirits meer natural distempers : Nay, Physitians themselves, who have excellently laboured in Anatomy and Chymistry, perhaps have added little or nothing to the Diagnostick part of Diseases, so happily begun by *Hippocrates* : Hence it is, that we are still in the dark as to the abstruser distempers of humane bodies, especially such as arise from melancholly ; which are of so many sorts, and have such wonderfull effects, that whosoever should right-

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ly describe them, and make them plainly manifest, he would discover unto us an unknown world, full of unheard of prodigious monsters.

Thus I have sufficiently answered the most material objections, not thinking it worth the while to insist upon every trifle, such as this is; why do not you believe that which so many thousand of wise men in the world have believed? Sure they could not be all deceived: As if a man did not trumpet forth his own folly, by such an argument, when the various Religions that have been in the world, are more than enough to convince one, how absurd and ridiculous the wisest of men are in matters of Opinion or Belief.

CHAP.

Chap. V. *Considered.*

TIs a very usual though a ridiculous thing for those who affirm, Witchcraft when they are in company with others, who deny it instead of arguments to tell I know not what kind of stories concerning Spirits. And when they have talkt an hour together, you shall find nothing in their discourse, that truly concerns the question of Witchcraft. In regard a man may believe not only Spirits but apparitions also, and *Demoniacks*. That is, He may not believe only there are Spirits, but that they also appear unto men, and sometimes possess their bodies, yet be far from believing Witches or Witchcraft. Now, if at any time they speak pertinently to the question, you shall find their arguments to be grounded either on the folly

of some, or the knavery of others ; or vulgar fabulous reports, or melancholy, or other diseases incident to humane bodies. The truth is their arguments don't deserve to be taken notice of, nevertheless I shall here touch upon a way of arguing wherein they please themselves very much. 'Tis this, surely he must needs be a meer Sceptick, who will not believe matter of fact witnessed and attested by the oaths of so many, who living in sundry ages and several Countries, have by their depositions so convinced the judges that they have sentenced thousands and thousands to death. He that will not believe there is a Witch after all these testimonies, may as well deny there was ever such a man as *Julius Caesar*. But by their favour there is no comparison between these two Cases, for that there was such a man as *Julius Caesar*, hath been attested by such men who
were

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were capable of seeing and hearing him, he being an object of their senses. But Spirits being not the objects of sense, their actions must needs be obscure, and not so manifest unto true reason, as obnoxious unto fancy and imagination. Which how strange and roving and monstrous it is in many men, can hardly be explained. But again, there is a great deal of difference between believing that there was such a man as *Julius Caesar*, & believing of a Witch; For I cannot suppose that those who affirm there was such a man as *Julius Caesar*, can have any design in such an affirmation. Whereas the affirmers of Witchcraft may palpably design their own interest in regard there have been in all ages a sort of men, who by a pretended holiness, and I know not what kind of sawcy acquaintance, with the Deity have set themselves off unto the people to a great advantage,

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vantage, and enhanced the value or price of their exercising Trade, which Trade receives great estimation or repute from persons pretendedly bewitched. Thirdly, I know not what passion that belongs to a man, can incite him to affirm falsely the being of *Julius Caesar*. But envy, malice, an insatiate desire of revenge, and coveting of other mens goods may easily provoke wicked and unjust men, to seek the life of others and by perjuries or false accusations to charge them with the sin of Witchcraft. Whereunto we may adde, that these unworthy accusations are much encouraged by those men, who on such occasions make use of conjuring prayers, and from thence do draw unto themselves a false reputation of Sanctity or more, than ordinary communion with God. Now this is certain that in the sayings and actions of men, whereas we desire a
true

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true estimate, we ought chiefly to consider, *Cui bono*, that is for what end or advantage they were said and done.

CHAP. VI.

How the Opinion of Witches came at first into the World.

BY this time methinks I cannot chuse but wonder at the large spreading of this foolish Opinion amongst men, and its taking such deep root in their minds: But then again, I cease to wonder when I consider with my self, that some men are Knaves, others are Fools, and that all men have fear implanted in them by Nature, the very strongest of all their passions; for although it be an impious saying, and irrational, that fear was the first thing which

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brought Gods into the world, yet I am apt to believe, it first of all brought in these omnipotent Devils, that contract with Witches: For melancholick persons being exceeding timorous by Nature, and of exceeding strong imaginations, upon the seeing or hearing of any frightful thing are very prone unto troublesome dreams, and apt to create strange apparitions in their own brains; which dreams and apparitions, no man in the world shall perswade them to the contrary, but that they are real truths, especially if their melancholly be excessive, and border upon madness: Add hereunto, that other men not addicted to melancholly, may upon fundry occasions meet with apparitions; namely, sometimes when they are sick of Feavers, sometimes when their minds have been possessed, and their imaginations wrought upon by frightful stories; and sometimes again,

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gain, when their eyes being weak, they walk in a thick air towards evening by the water side. Not to mention those disturbances which may arise in mens fancies from an inordinate diet, either in quantity or quality, and from sundry other irregularities, it being easie for a man to be troubled with the Nightmare, before he shall be able to get fast asleep, if he goeth into a cold bed when his body is stiff with cold.

Now that these and many other like occasions did oftentimes present apparitions unto men, was well enough known unto those who governed the ancient world, especially the Eastern parts thereof, for they were wise Politicians, famous in their Generations, and very well experienced in the Nature of Man: wherefore knowing how furious and head-strong a Beast the Multitude is, not to be dealt with unless you come as it were on their blind side,

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side, that is, unless you take them by the weakest part, & lay hold on their passion of fear, (I say knowing this) they promoted these fears of the people, and improved them for the designs of Government. Hence it came to pass, that whatsoever was extraordinary in Nature, and apt to astonish, they ascribed unto these Apparitions or Spirits: Namely, in the starry Heavens, the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, Thunder and Lightning in the Clouds, Pestilential seasons, and seasons of Famine here below, and also the most hideous of Diseases, whether they were strange kind of Tumours in the body, or Convulsion fits, or several sorts of madness, and the like: For the remedying of which disastrous accidents, and the taking away of their malignant effects, many Charms or Spells were ordained, many exorcising or conjuring prayers were invented; In a word, many Religious Rites

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Rites or Ceremonies of worship were instituted, with a world of variety and fancy. The *Ægyptians*, that ancient and wise people, the very Fathers of learning, had a respect unto these kind of Spirits in their publick worship, as may be gathered from *Plutarch* in his Treatise concerning the decay of *Oracles*, where he brings in this consideration of their Religious Rites, as a probable argument, that they were the first Opiners of *Demons*; I mean, the first that brought in the Opinion of the existence of Devils.

In process of time, these actions of the Priests, and grand Politicians of the world, began to be imitated by private persons, not only men, but women also, such as she was that dwelt at *Endor*; for what will not some attempt to do, when a necessitous poverty doth torment them with a greedy desire of gain? These kind of shirking people, a Generation
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tion of impudent Liars, Mountebanks in Divinity and Physick, have all along pester'd the Ages in which they lived. *Hippocrates* treating *mel ispis vōru*, or the Falling Sicknes, hath excellently well described the knavish impostures of some in his times, who to cloak their ignorance of that Disease, pretended it came immediately from the hand of God, and therefore was to be cured with certain expiations and charms. These men, he saith, had nothing but God in their mouths, and yet notwithstanding this holiness, they basely deluded the people with Magick cheats: So also did the Heathen Divines, I mean their pretended Philosophers, men full of words and beards, who for the love of gain, and a croud of Disciples, would frequently make shew of I know not what sublime kind of knowledge, and intimate acquaintance with the Deity, by vertue whereof, they
would

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would undertake to charm an exorcise the evil spirits. *Lucian* in his Dialogue, Entituled *ἡ ἀπολογία*, lovers of lyes, makes very good sport with these kind of knaves.

Now when Hunger and Covetousness had engaged private persons, in such kind of actions as the Priests were engaged in out of policy, they not enduring to see their Office invaded, did declare unto the World, That all such as invaded sacred things, contrary to the due Rites and Ceremonies, were so far from any Communion with the Gods, that they were rather abandoned by them, and exposed unto the society of evil Spirits; by which Conversation they became full of malice, and all sorts of vice and mischief, like unto the Devils with whom they conversed; for that this was the assertion of the ancient *Chaldean* Priests, is evident in that Treatise of *Jamblichus*, which treats
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of the mysteries of the *Egyptians*, *Caldeans* and *Assyrians*. And thus I suppose I have given a true account of the rise and origine of Witchcraft.

But howsoever this opinion of Witches might probably take its first rise in the Eastern parts, it quickly also came into the West, and there at length it very much prevailed, by reason of the *Platonic* Philosophers: For these men being addicted unto Fabling and Allegorizing, became so vain, as to turn, by an overweening credulity, their Fables and Metaphors into reality. I confess this Doctrine of theirs, that Knowledge and Vertue are the two things which purifie the Soul of man, and bring it into a God-like perfection, is praise-worthy; As also on the contrary, that Vice and ignorance corrupt men with a Diabolical and Bestial pravity: Nevertheless 'tis not to be endured, that
such

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such similitudes as these, should be the ground of asserting some mens visions and frequent conferences with the Gods, other mens associations and confederacy with Devils: For my part, I can see no difference between the actions of the Philosophical Heathen Priest, and the Magician or Witch, but only this, that the one had Law or Authority on his side, the other had not. This is so manifest, that *Valentinian* and *Valerian*, though Christian Emperors, were fain to gratifie the greater part of their Subjects, being Heathens, by making a Law, wherein they did vindicate the Religion of their Ancestours, that is the Heathen, from the foul aspersions of Witchcraft. This Law may be found in the *Theodosian Code*, though it be left out in that of *Justinian*.

In a word, whosoever shall read the *Platonick* writings, he shall find them full of confident Discourse
about

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about that which they did not understand, concerning the Gods, Dæmons, and Spirits of men: Much do they talk of a Familiar Spirit which every man hath, calling it sometimes the *ὁ δίκαιος*, sometimes *ὁ στυγνός*, sometimes the *ὁ ἐιληχῶς ἡμᾶς δαίμων*. Nor is it to be wondred at, if Christian Authors have too much exceeded on such subjects; in regard 'tis well enough known how much the Primitive Christians admired the *Platonick* Sect. Nor is it unlikely, that in their frequent Exorcisings and Conjurations, they did but imitate the *Platonicks*, who themselves did therein but tread the steps of the ancient *Ægyptian* Priests: Amongst whom it was usual to Conjure the Devils with strange kind of threats, namely, that if they would not do as the Priests would have them, they would threaten to tear the Heavens asunder, and to reveal the secret of *Isis*, with other threats of the like Nature

Nature; as may be seen in the afore-
said Treatise of *Jamblicus*.

Chap. VI. Considered.

THE Religion of the ancient
Heathens did mainly consist of
such kind of sacrifices and other ce-
monies, as were ordained partly to
conciliate and procure the favour
and assistance of good spirits.
Through such kind of sacrifices as
these *Longinus* the Platonist
told Saint *Augustine* that the way to
true happiness did lead, for there
was no communication with the
Gods, as the Platonists held but by
the mediation of good *Demons*
whom they affirmed to be the mes-
sengers and interpreters between
Gods and men, insomuch that *Plato*
himself makes the whole business
or art of Religious Priests whether
Prophecie or Miracles, or sacrifices to
K depend

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depend on *Dæmons*, Δία τούτῳ saith
Plato speaking of the *Dæmoniacal*
 nature, καὶ ματαικὴ ἢ πᾶσα χερσὶ καὶ ἢ τοῦ ἱερῶς
 τέχνης τοῦ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δυνάμεις καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδόξους καὶ τὴν
 μαλίστα πᾶσαν καὶ γοντίαν. Now the way

which the Priest insisted on in
 Courting and procuring the pre-
 sence of good *Dæmons*, as also in
 chasing away the bad, was to ob-
 serve the Sympathies and Antipa-
 thies between Cælestial and Ter-
 restrial things. Which being right-
 ly observed, they were able as they
 pretended to make due compositi-
 ons of things Terrestrial, in their sa-
 crifices for the gaining of their in-
 tended purposes with the powers
 Cælestial. As may be seen more at
 large in the Treatise of *Proclus*, con-
 cerning Sacrifice and Magick. But
 when private Persons pretended to
 divination charms, raising of the
 dead invocation of *Dæmons*, and
 such like actions of the Priests. The
 Priest objected against them, their
 in-

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insufficiency in the art of sacrificing, and affirmed that by such illegal sacrifices, the communion of the good *Demons* could not be obtained, but only that of the Bad; by which means such illegal intruders into the Priestly Office, came at length to be infected with Diabolical natures. In process of time Christianity getting foot into the World, the Jews and Heathens lookt upon Christ as a Witch, and Christianity as Witchcraft. *Tacitus* doth down right, call it *Maleficium*. But the other side when the Christians got uppermost, they were quit with the Heathens, and paid them in their own coyn: For they confidently affirmed, that the Heathen Religion was a Commerce with Devils, and upon that score, several Laws were made against the practise of it, especially there was one or two Laws, I mean that of *Constantius* and *Julianus*, written *Ad Populum*, which I have already cited

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about the *Ancyran* Council, as also that other of theirs written *Ad Taurum praefectum praetorio*, which if they had been throughly executed, might have destroyed half the Roman Empire; For though the government was in the hands of the Christians, the better half did in these days still adhere to the old Heathen Worship, which was now condemned as guilty of Witchcraft. The truth is not long after in the days of *Valentinian* the elder (as may be seen in *Ammianus Marcellinus*) One *Maximus* a base fellow but gotten it seems into office did take occasion hereby to torture and kill people of all sorts and conditions in Rome; in so much that the Senate it self finding it to be every mans case, no man knowing whose turn should be next were faine to interpose, by sending a solemn Embassy to *Valentian*, which took such effect as to cause that rescript unto the Senate, which
 being read was vindicated

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vindicated the heathen religion from the aspersion of Witchcraft, I shall set it down word for word.

Imp. Valent. Val. & Grat. A A A.

Ad Senatum.

Haruspicinam ego nullum cum maleficorum causis habere consortium judico. Neque ipsam aut aliquam præterea concessam a majoribus religionem genus esse arbitror criminis, Testes sunt leges a me in exordio imperii mei datæ quibus unicuique quod animo imbibisset colendi libera facultas tributa est. Nec haruspicinam reprehendimus sed nocenter exerceri vetamus. Thus we see how Witches came into the world, first the Priests called private men so. Afterwards Priests of different Religions called one another so, and condemned one anothers religions upon the account of Witchcraft or Commerce with Devils. The truth is the Platonick

Philosophers or Divines for the Priests were generally of that sect, did so impudently pretend to the knowledge of Spirits, and to an intimate acquaintance with them, as I can hardly blame those who censured them as Witches. Can any one read the lives of *Plotinus* *Iamblicus*, and others without amazement. 'Twas as easie forsooth for one of these fellows to call a *Dæmon*, or a *God*, into their presence, as for another man to call his own servant. But indeed, I the less wonder at those lies which the Platonists have so freely vented, concerning Spirits or Dæmons, in regard their Master *Plato* concludes his *Timæus* with this Doctrine, that as the bodies of men are cured with hurtful medicines if wholeſome ones wont serve turn. So the souls of men, if they wont be led by truth, are to be restrained with lies. Upon this account he there commends that fiction of the transmigra-
tion

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of souls, and in particular he praiseth that *Homer* the Poet, for making use of ancient Fables. Indeed had the Platonick Philosophy been written in Verse, *Plato* might have been as excusable, as *Homer* & the Platonists as the Poets upon the account of Poetical fiction. But now who can read with patience, such notorious lies in Prose,

CHAP. VII.

The Conclusion.

THUS I have in the first place shewn, that there is no such thing as a Witch in Scripture: Secondly, that it took its beginning from Heathen Fables. Thirdly, that it was afterwards improved by Papal impostures. In the fourth place, I have produced several arguments

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against the affirmers of Witchcraft. Fifthly, I have answered their Arguments to the contrary. Sixthly and lastly, I have endeavoured to shew by what means this Opinion of Witches came into the world; all which I have handled succinctly, pointing as it were at the heads of things, and leaving it unto some abler pen, to handle this question more at large; A thing which is very useful to be done; for if the Doctrine of Witchcraft should be carried up to a heighth, and the inquisition after it should be entrusted in the hands of Ambitious, Covetous, and malicious men, it would prove of far more fatal consequence unto the lives and safety of mankind, then that antient Heathenish custome of Sacrificing men unto Idol Gods; in-
somuch, that we stand in need of another *Hercules liberator*, who as the former freed the world from humane Sacrifices, should in like manner

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manner travel from Country to Country, and by his all-commanding Authority, free it from this evil and base custome of torturing people to confesse themselves Witches, and burning them after extorted Confessions. Surely, the blood of men ought not to be so cheap, nor so easily to be shed, by such who under the Name of God, do gratifie exorbitant passions and selfish ends; for without question, under this side Heaven, there is nothing so sacred as the life of man, for the preservation whereof, all Polices or Forms of Government, all Laws and Magistrates, are most especially ordained: Wherefore I presume, that this discourse of mine, attempting to prove the vanity and impossibility of Witchcraft, is so far from any deserved censure and blame, that it rather deserves commendation and praise, if I can but in the least measure contribute to the saving of the lives of men.

Chap.

Chap. 7. *Considered.*

TO Handle the question of Witchcraft largely, would be a work of labour indeed. For it would require an interpretation of words, an account of History and Laws, as also of the wonders which may be produced, by Mathematical and Chymical operations. It would likewise require, a diligent investigation or search, into the passions diseases and various infirmities, incident unto men and women, especially that of deluded imagination. However I hope, those hints which I have here given, may prove useful, especially unto the ingenious Reader that can enlarge upon them with his own thoughts. Three things I have chiefly insisted upon. 1. That the opinion of Witchcraft is not

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not to be found in Scripture. 2. That Politique interest hath founded it on fables. 3. That those fables discover themselves to be so, by their impossibility. Indeed amongst Heathens, they seemed not impossible; but consonant unto their great doctrine of the two principles of good and evil. But amongst Christians tis otherwise, who believe but one omnipotent, and him too good for malicious actions. Wherefore, whosoever will undertake, to overthrow this discourse of mine (that we may bring things to an issue) I shall be content to subscribe, if he can but prove one of the two. Either that the Doctrine of Witchcraft, hath not been built upon such effects, as the transformations of creatures: Or else that these effects, are possible for the Devil to perform. The first must be proved Historically; and here he will have no help from the Inquisitors of heretical

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heretical pravity, who in their various tryals and condemnations of Witches, have proceeded on the supposition of such effects. The second must be proved Philosophically, and not by the testimony of men. For it is far more easie, and far more rational to believe, that witnesses *are* and lyars and perjured persons, than it is to believe; that an old Woman can turn her self, or any body else into a Cat, yet I confess, the witnesses may not alwayes be liars, but only deluded. For so strongly hath this opinion possessed the fancies of men, that tis probable some men have really believed, an Old Woman to have been the Hare, which they hunted; when they have lost the Hare, on a sudden, and found her panting. So they might believe as long as they pleased, But were I of the Jury, a Hundred of them swearing should never make me believe so too. And now me thinks,

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thinks, I can not think without trembling and horror, on the vast numbers of people that in several ages, and several Countries have been sacrificed unto this Idol opinion. Thousands, ten thousands, are upon record to have been slain, and many of them not with simple deaths, but horrid exquisite tortures. And yet how many are there more, who have undergone the same fate of whom we have no memorial extant. Since therefore the Opinion of Witchcraft is a meer stranger unto Scripture, and wholly alien from true Religion. Since it is ridiculous, by asserting fables and impossibilities. Since it appears when duly considered to be all bloody, and full of dangerous consequence, unto the lives and safety of men. I hope that with this my Discourse opposing an absurd and pernicious error I have not at all disobliged, any sober unbiaſed person; eſpecially if he be
of

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of such ingenuity, as to have freed himself from a slavish subjection, unto those prejudicial opinions, which Custome and education, do with too much Tyranny impose.

BY

BY way of Appendage to
the preceding Discourse,
I thought to have trans-
lated one of Lucian's Dia-
logues, called Lovers of
Lyes; but being informed
that it was already trans-
lated, I only ordered the
Book-seller to Reprint it:
Nor can it chuse but please
the Reader, to see that the
World is the same World
still; and that fifteen hundred
years ago, men had the same
humors and thoughts, in rela-
tion to the question in hand,

as they have now adayes:
 For between some men now
 alive, and those whom the
 incomparable wit describes
 in his Ingenious Dialogue,
 there is no difference to be
 perceived, but only this,
 that they in the Dialogue did
 wear long Beards, whereas
 now 'tis the fashion to cut
 the beard off, or at least to
 cut it very short.

THE

T H E

Apendage Considered.

THere are some who wonder, that I would offer to annex unto my book, a Dialogue of Lucian, who as they say was a known Atheist. But on the Contrary, he had too much Wit and Learning to be one. Nor did I ever meet with an Atheist in all my life, as to my own knowledge; and therefore am apt to believe, that those who are recorded such in History, were rather reputed then, real Atheists. However I am sure, this Dialogue is not Atheistical. Otherwise Sir Thomas Moore, would never have taken the pains to translate it, out of Greek into Latine; and so to make it more communicable unto the Christian World. I say Sir Thomas Moore, A Man who for his Wit and Learning and Vertue, was whilst he lived, an
 L ornament

152 The Apendage Considered.

ornament unto this his Country; and since his death, by his never dying fame, he still continues to adorn it. But why should I trouble myself, to give any further satisfaction, unto a sort of men, who know nothing but a Syllogism, and whose Palats can relish nothing, which is not Metaphysically disputed, on both sides of the question, with a videtur quod sic, a and videtur quod non? Wherefore I shall no longer detain the Reader, from this excellent Dialogue, which I having often Read, did as often find my pleasure renewed; in observing with what exquisite art, and delicatness of wit, our most ingenious Author, discovers the lying Spirit of Men.

ΦΙΛΟΥΕΙΔΕΣ

Lovers of LIES :

A DIALOGUE

Made by the Famous

LUCIAN.

*The Speakers, Tychiades and
Philocles.*

Tychiades. CAN you tell me the reason, *Philocles*, why most men desire to lie, and delight not only to speak fictions themselves, but give busie attention to others who do?

Philocles. There be many reasons, *Tychiades*, which compel some men to speak untruths, because they see 'tis profitable.

L 2

Tychiades:

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Tychiades. This is nothing to the purpose. My question concern'd not them who lye for profit : for such deserve pardon, and some praise, who have thereby defeated their enemies, and used it as a preservative against dangers; like *Ulysses*, who by such flights secured his own life, and the return of his companions. But I now speak of those, who prefer the very Lie before Truth, and take pleasure to busie themselves in Fables, without any necessary judgement. I would fain know what motives such men have to do so.

Philocles. Have you met with any born with such a natural love to lying ?

Tychiades. There are many such.

Philocles. What other motive can they have not to speak truth, but their madness ? Else certainly, they would never prefer the worst thing before the best.

Tychiades.

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Tychiades. This is nothing ; since I can show you many of great discretion and wisdom in other things, who yet are Captives to this delusion, and love of lies. Nor am I a little troubled to see men of excellent judgement in other things, take delight to deceive themselves and others. You cannot but know those Ancients better then I, *Herodotus*, *Ctesias* in *Cnidian*, and the Poets before them, *Homer* especially ; All men of great name, whose writings are stored with fictions. So that they not only deceived their hearers then but have conveyd their lies to us also in a preserved succession of excellent Poety and Verses. I cannot, therefore, but blush for them, as often as they speak of a Schisme in Heaven, of *Promethews* chains, the Gyants Insurrection, and the whole Tragedy of Hell. How *Jupiter*, also, for love became a Bull or Swan ; and how a woman was transform'd into a Fowl

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or Bear. Besides their *Pegasus's*, *Chymæra's*, *Gorgon's*, *Cyclop's*, and the like strange prodigious fables, fit only to recreate the minds of Children, who yet fear Goblins, and Fayries. But these are things tolerable in Poets. How ridiculous is it that whole Cities and Nations should unanimously agree in a publick lie? Thus the *Cretans* are not ashamed to show *Jupiters Tomb*. The *Athenians* say, that *Erichonius* grew from the earth; and that the first people of *Attica* sprung from thence, like Coleworts. Yet these speak much modestlier then the *Thebans*, who derive themselves from a Serpents teeth sown. Yet he who takes not such ridiculous fictions for true, but upon discreet examination thinks it proper only for a *Coræbus*, or *Margites*, to believe that *Triptolemus* was carried through the Air by winged Dragons; or that *Pan* came assistant to
the

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the Greeks from *Arcadia* into *Marathon*; or that *Orithyia* was ravish'd by *Boreas*; is held irreligious and foolish, for dissenting from such clear and evident truths. So powerful is a received lie.

Philocles.. Yet both Poets, *Tychiades*, and Cities are thus excusable, that the one mingle fictions with their writings, the better to take their readers. The *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and other Countries, make their beginnings more majestick, from such fabulous Originals. Besides, should all fiction be banish'd *Greece*, how many reporters would dye of Famine? Since none there are patient to hear truth spoken *gratis*. In my judgement, therefore, they who delight in lies, for no other reason, but because they are lies, are most deservedly to be laugh'd at.

Tychiades. You say true. I now came from the learned *Encrates*,

where I heard many things fabulous, and incredible; or rather leaving them in the midst of their discourses, impatient of narrations so much beyond belief, like so many Hobgoblins they scared me away with their prodiges and wonders.

Philocles. *Eucrates, Tychiades*, is a man of credit, nor can I believe that one of so deep a beard, of the age of threescore, and of such continued study in Philosophy, should endure to hear another feign in his presence, much less that he should offer to feign himself.

Tychyades. You know not, my friend, what lies he told, how constantly he affirmed them, and mingled Oathes with his fictions, and produced his children for witnesses. So that I looking upon him, thought variously; sometimes that he was mad, and beside himself; sometimes that being a cheater he had long scape'd my discovery; and had carried

ried about a contemptible Ape in a Lyons shape: so absurd were his discourses.

Philocles. In the name of *Vesta*, what were they, *Tychiades*? I long to know what cosenage he could disguise with so long a beard.

Tychiades. I usually, at other times, when I had leisure, *Tychiades*, visited him. But to day having occasion to speak with *Leontichus*, (who as you know, is my intimate friend) and being told by his boy, that he was early in the morning gone to visit *Eucrates*, who lay sick, as well to meet *Leontichus*, as to see him, (of whose sickness I was till then ignorant) I went thither, where I found not *Leontichus*, (who as they said, was newly departed) but a crowd of others; Among whom was *Cleodemus* the Peripatetic, *Dinomachus* the Stoick, and *Iron*; you know him; he that is so admired for *Plato's* discourses, as if
he

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he onely understood exactly his meaning, and were able to be his interpreter to others. You see what men I name to you; All Sages, famed for vertue, heads of their several sects; All venerable, and carrying an awfull terrour in their looks. There was present also *Antigonus* the Physitian, sent for, I suppose, out of necessity of the disease. Though *Eucrates* seemed to be much upon the recovery, and his sickness not dangerous. For the humour was again fallen into his feet. As soon as *Eucrates* saw me, remitting his voice, he feebly bad me sit down by him on the bed; whom, as I entred, I heard lowd and shrill. I very careful not to touch his feet, and using the accustomed complement, that I knew not of his sickness, but upon the first intimation came post, fate near him. The discourse of the company was concerning his disease, of which they had
in

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in part already spoken; and were then going on, each severally to prescribe a several medicine, and cure. Take up from the ground, said *Cleodemus*, with your left hand the tooth of a weefil, so kill'd as I said before, bind it in a Lyons skin, newly flead, then wrap it about your leggs, and your pain will presently cease. 'Tis not in a Lyons skin, as I have heard, said *Dinomachus*, but in a Virgin Hindes skin unbuck't; And so the receipt is more probable: For a Deer is swift, and most strong, of feet. A Lyon, indeed, is strong, and his fat, and right paw, and the stiff hairs of his beard are of great vertue, if one know how to apply them every one with his proper charm. But they promise small cure of the gout. I also, once thought said *Cleodemus*, that a Staggs skin was to be used for his fleetnesse; but since a certain wise *Lybian* hath me taught otherwise, and told me that

Lyons

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Lyons are swifter then Bucks ; for they, said he, catch these in hunting. The rest praised his reason, as well delivered by the *Lybian*. Then said I, do you think such diseases, as this, are cured by charms, or that an inward malady is eased by an outward spell ? Whereat they smiled, and seemed much to condemn my silliness, as not knowing a thing so received, and not gainsaid, or disproved by any understanding man. *Antigonus* the Physitian seemed pleased with my question; who, it seems was formerly neglected in his offers to cure *Eucrates* by the prescriptions of his Art ; which enjoyn'd him to abstain from wine, to eat herbs, and to study more remissly. *Cleodemus*, in the mean time, smiling, replied, saying, do you think it incredible, *Tychiades*, that such spells should be of power to cure diseases ? I do, said I. Nor am I of so gross a sense, to believe that such outward receipts, which

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which have no affinity with the springs and causes of the infirmity within, should work, by charm, as you pretend, or by Imposture; or upon their bare application should instill cures. A thing not to be effected, though one should bind sixteen whole weefils in the *Nemean* Lyons skin. I have often seen a Lyon halt, and go lame with pain in his whole skin. You are a very puny, said *Dinomachus*, and have not learnt to know what power such spels have over diseases. Nor seem to me to understand the expulsion of periodical feavers, the charming of Serpents, and asswaging of botches, and other things performed by every old woman. All which being frequently done, why should you think cures of this nature impossible? You pile too much, *Dinomachus*, said I, and according to the proverb, drive out one nail with another. Nor doth it appear, that the things you speak of,
are

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are by such power effected. If, therefore, you prove not to me first by reason, that 'tis naturally possible that a feaver, or blayn, should be frightened with a divine name, or barbarous spell, and thereupon forsake the place swoln, you have but hitherto uttered old wives tales. Thus saying, said *Dinomachus*, you seem not to believe there are Gods; since you think it beyond the power of their names to work cures. Say not so, Good Sir, quoth I, for there may without impediment be Gods, and yet your prescriptions may be deceitful and false. I adore the Gods, and behold their cures, and recoveries of sick people by regular medicines and Physick. *Æsculapius*, and his followers heal'd the diseased by wholesome prescriptions, not by the application of Lyons and Weefils. Let him enjoy his opinion, said *Ion*, I will report to you a miraculous passage. When I was a Boy, about
the

the age of fourteen years, one came and told my father, that *Midas* his Vinedresser, a stout industrious servant, about the time of full market lay stung of a Serpent, which presently gangren'd his leg. For as he was bending a vine, and winding it about a pole, the Snake crept to him, and biting him by the great toe, presently slipt away, and retired into a hole; Whereupon he cryed out, and was ready to expire with pain. In the close of the relation we saw *Midas* himself, brought by his fellow servants in a chair, swoln all over, discolour'd, in appearance rankled, and scarce able to breath. My father being much grieved, a certain friend of his, there present, said, Take courage, Sir, I will presently fetch a *Chaldean*, who shall cure him. Not to be tedious, the *Babylonian* came, restored *Midas*, and drew the venom from his body by a charm, and by the application
of

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of a stone, cut from the pillar of a deceased Virgin, to his feet; and, which is yet more. *Midas* rising from the chair, in which he was brought, went back into the field; so powerfull was the charm, and the stone taken from the tomb. Among his many other miracles, which he wrought, he went one morning early into a field, where having pronounced seven certain sacred names, taken out of an ancient book, and purged the place with brimstone and taper, and walkt it thrice round, he assembled to him all the Serpents of the country: So that drawn by force of the charm came many Snakes, Aspes, Vipers, Efts, Dartars, Lizards and Toades; only one ancient Dragon was left behind, who for age, I believe, and not being able to crawl disobey'd the spell. Whereupon, all are not here, said the Magician, and presently selecting one of the youngest Serpents,
sent

sent him Embassadour to the Dragon. Who not long after came also. When they were all assembled, the *Babylonian* puffed upon them, and presently to our astonishment they were all burnt with his breath. Then said I, pray tell me *Ion*, did the young Serpent Embassadour lead the old, or did he support himself by a staff? You are merry, said *Cleodemus*. I was once as great an Infidel in these things as you are now, and saw no reason to believe them; yet when I beheld the *Barbarian* stranger fly, (who as they report came from the North) I was convinced into a belief against my inclination. For what should I do, when I saw him carried in the Air, walking upon the water, and in a slow and leisurely motion pass through the fire? But did you, said I, see a Nothern man fly, or walk upon the water? Most certainly, replied he, shod with pumps, after the manner of his Country. I

M

forbear

forbear to speak of his smaller performances, his infusion of Love, expulsion of Devils, raising of the dead long buried, publick presentment of *Hecate*, and drawing down the Moon from Heaven. I will only report to you what I saw him do for *Glaucias*, the Son of *Anaxicles*. *Glaucias* no sooner began to inherit his dead fathers estate, but he fell in love with *Chrysis*, *Demianetus* daughter. I was Tutor to his studies. Who, had not love diverted him, had by this time learnt all the Peripatetick Sciences, since being but eighteen years old he had already gone over the *Analyticks*, and past through *Aristotles* *Physicks* to the end. Thus perplex with love, he revealed himself to me; who being his Tutor, as it became me, brought this Nothern Magician to him, hired for four Crowns in hand (which were to buy things for the sacrifice) and sixteen more when *Glaucias* enjoy'd *Chrysis*. He
 observing

observing the Moons increase, (the proper time for such enchantments) and having digged a hole in the house yard, about midnight, first call'd up to us *Anaxicles*, *Glancias* father, dead seven months before. The old man storm'd, and raged at his Sons love, but in conclusion gave license to his affection. Next, he rais'd up *Hecate*, who brought *Cerberus* with her. Then he call'd down the Moon, a various spectacle, by reason of her diverse appearances and changes. For first she resembled in countenance a woman, then she was transform'd into a beautiful Cow, then into a little dog. After this, fashioning a little *Cupid* of Clay, Go, said he, and fetch *Chrysis* hither. The Clay presently flew away, and shortly after she came and knockt at the door, and at her first entrance embraced *Glancias*, show'd her self distractedly enamour'd, and accompanied him till we heard the Cocks

crow. Then the Moon flew to Heaven, *Hecate* sunk into the earth, the Apparitions vanish; and we about day break let *Chrysis* depart. Had you seen this, *Tychiades*, you would not long distrust the force of charms. You say well, said I, I would indeed believe this, had I seen it: But am otherwise to be pardon'd, if at such visions I be not as quick-sighted as you. As for the *Chrysis*, you speak of, I know her to be an easie amorous woman. Nor do I perceive any need why you should employ an earthen Embassadour to her, or trouble a Magician from the North, or the Moon, for the affection of one whom for twenty drams you may draw as far as the North-pole, being a woman so readily prepared to meet your Incantations: Though she be thus unlike your apparitions. For they (as you report) at the sound of Brass, or Iron, vanish: But she no sooner hears Silver,

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ver, but she runs to the sound. Besides I cannot but wonder at the Magician, that being able to inforce love towards himself in the women of greatest wealth, and thereby draw whole talents from them, he should for the inconsiderable price of four Crowns procure affection for *Glaucias*. 'Tis folly in you, said *Ion*, to believe nothing. I would fain ask you, what you think of them who have deliver'd Dæmoniacks from their possessions, and have evidently charm'd forth their Devils. I need not tell you how many the *Syrian*, who came from *Palestine*, a man skill'd in such Arts, hath restored after they have fall'n down *Lunatick*, stared with their eyes, and foamed at mouth, and hath sent them away cured, and releast them, for great sums, of their distempers. For standing by them as they lie, he asks the evil spirit from whence he entred into the body.

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The poorest person, mean time, is speechless, and the Devil replying in *Greek*, or some barbarous Language, tells from whence he is, and how he entred the man; whereupon he by adjuration and threats, if he offered to disobey, casts him out. I saw a Devil cast out black, and of the colour of Soot. No marvaile *Ion*, said I, that you saw such visions; *Plato* the father of your sect hath taught you to see *Idæus*, a spectacle too refined, and subtile, for our dull sense. Many others, as well as you, *Ion*, said *Eucrates*, have met with Devils, some by night, others by day; I have, not once, but a thousand times seen such *Spectrums*; and was at first frighted with them; but custome hath at length made them not strange, or unfamiliar; especially since an *Arabian* gave me a ring, made of the Iron taken from a cross, and taught me an ambiguous, diverse sensed charm, unless you refuse
to

to give credit to me also *Tychiades*. How can I choose, said I, but believe *Eucrates*, the son of *Dino*, especially being so wise a man, and having the freedom to speak what you please with authority in your own house? Hear some passages of a statute of mine, then said *Eucrates*, which nightly appears to all my family, both men and maids, who can witness so much to you, as well as I. Of which of your Statues, said I? Did you not observe at your entrance, said he, a fair Statue standing in my Hall, the work of *Demetrius*, the Statuarie. Do you mean the Quoiter, said I, who stands wryed in a Gesture ready to deliver, with his quoit hand reverst, and one knee bent, as if he meant to vary posture, and rise with his throw? Not him, said he; the Quoiter you speak of is one of *Myrons* pieces. Nor do I mean the fair Statue next to him, filletted about the head with a bend;

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which is a piece of *Polycletus*'s. You are also to pass over those which stand on the right hand as you enter; among whom are the Tyrant slayers, carved by *Critias Nesiota*. Did you not mark the statue by the conveyance of water, with the big belly, bald, halfnaked, part of the hairs of his beard pluckt off, of huge sinews, and every way resembling a man? I mean *Pelichus*, he who is so like a *Corinthian* Captain. I saw such a one, said I, on the right hand of *Saturn*, having a wither'd wreath, and fillet on his head, and guilt plates on his breast; I, said *Eucrates*, caused them to be guilt, after he had in three dayes cured me of a desperate feaver. Was the famous *Pelichus*, then, a Physitian, said I? He is now, and take heed how you scoff at him, said *Eucrates*; least he shortly take revenge of you. I know the power of the Statute you laugh at; do you think he cannot as well inflict a feaver,

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ver, as expell one? Be so powerful a Statue, propitious, and merciful to me, said I: pray, what else have your family seen him do? As soon as it begins to be night, said he, descending from his Pedestal, he walks round the house; all my servants have often met him singing: he hurts none that give him way, but passeth by them without disturbance; he washeth himself much, and playes all night, as we guess by the noise of the water. Consider, said I, whether your Statue be *Pelichus*, or *Talus* the *Cretan*, who lived with *Minos*, whose brazen Statue was Centinel and guardian of the Country. Were he not made of Copper, but wood, I should probably think he were not the workmanship of *Demetrius*, but one of *Dædalus* motions. For you say, he frequently walks from his Basis. Beware, *Tychiades*, said he, you be not hereafter sorry for your flouts. I could

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could tell you what he suffer'd who stole the farthings, which we every New Moon offer to him. The punishment of such a sacrilege must needs be direful, said *Ion*. Pray what was it *Eucrates*? I desire to hear, how incredulous soever *Tychyades* be. Many farthings, said he, lay at his feet, and some other Silver coyns were fastened with wax to his knees, Besides diverse Silver Plates, offer'd to him by the devotion and gratitude of those whom he had recovered from feavers. A servant of mine, a *Lybian*, one of my Grooms, perceiving the Statue one night absent, adventured to steal his Oblations. Observe how *Pelichus*, finding himself at his return robbed, revenged himself, and bewrayed the Thief: Who all night walkt up and down the Hall in a Circle, unable, like one faln into a Labyrinth to get out; till next morning he was apprehended with his stealths about him, and pro-

proportionably whipt. Nor did he live long after, but dyed miserably, beaten every night, as he said, and confirm'd it with the marks seen in his body next day. Now, if please you *Tychiades*, said *Eucrates*, laugh at *Pelichus*, and me, for a Doter of *Mino's* time. Certainly *Eucrates*, said I, as long as Brass is Brass, and your statue but the creature of *Demetrius*, the *Alopecian*, who carved not Gods, but men, I shall not fear the image of your *Pelichus*, nor much care for the threats of the original, were he alive. Here *Antigonus*, the Physitian, seconding him said, I, *Eucrates*, have also a brazen *Hippocrates*, about a cubit long, which, as soon as the Candles are put out, walks circularly through all the house, making a noise, overturning boxes, compounding medicines, and flinging open doors; especially if we omit to pay him his yearly sacrifice. Doth *Hippocrates* the Physitian, then
require

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require to be sacrificed to, said I, and take it ill if he be not feasted with Oblations at his set times? Methinks 'twere honour enough to pour wine to him, or crown him with Garlands. Hear another passage, said *Eucrates* which I with many other witnesses saw about five years past. One harvest time, having dispatcht my reapers about noon into the field, I solitarily retired my self into a wood, to weigh and consider of some things. Where, at my first entrance, I heard the howling of dogs, which I imagined to be my Son *Man-sen*, going then abroad, as his manner is, with his Companions to sport themselves, and hunt. But 'twas otherwise: for presently after followed an Earthquake, and a hideous bellowing like thunder. After this I saw a woman coming towards me of horrible aspect, and near half a furlong tall, having in her left hand a Torch, in her right a Sword, at least
twenty

twenty cubits long. She had downward feet like a Serpent, upwards in the horror of her countenance and visage, she resembled a Gorgon; having Snakes for hair, which partly twind about her neck, others hung loose on her shoulders. See, my good friends, said *Eucrates*, how I yet tremble to tell the story; and withall show'd us the hairs on his armes stiff, and erected with fear. *Ion*, all the while and *Dinomachus* and *Cleodemus*, ancient men, gave him serious attention, as if drawn by the nose, and exprest a silent adoration of the incredible *Colossus*-half-furlong-woman, Gyant-like Hobgoblin. But I consider'd with my self, that such men as they, who read wisdom to young schollars, and were generally admired, differ'd only from children in their gray hairs and long beards, and were in all things else more easie to be deceived then they. Here *Dinomachus* put in, and said, pray tell me

me, *Eucrates*, of what size and bigness were her hounds? Bigger then *Indian Elephants*, replied he, and alike black, their skin as rough, squalid and fowl. I, when I saw them, stood still, and withall turn'd the seal of the ring which the *Arabian* gave me to the inside of my finger. Whereupon *Hecate* striking the ground with her serpentine feet, made a great cleft, which reacht to Hell, into which she sunk by degrees. I assuming courage, and taking hold of a neighbouring tree, least astonisht with the darkness I should chance to fall in headlong, lookt in, and saw all the things of Hell; the burning Lake of *Phlegeton*, *Cerberus*, and Ghosts; some of which I knew, especially my father, whom I saw in the very garments we buried him. Pray, *Eucrates* said *Ion*, what did the souls departed do? What should they do, answer'd he, but converse in companies and societies with their

their friends, and Allies, in the Daffodil mead? Henceforth, then said *Ion*, let the followers of *Epicurus* urge arguments against *Plato*, and his discourses of the soul. But did you not see *Socrates* and *Plato* among the dead? *Socrates*, replied he, I saw, but not more clearly then to guesse at him by his baldness and strutting belly. *Plato* I knew not, nor is't fit I speak more then truth to my friends. After I had taken an exact and universal survey of things, the vault closed, and some of my servants, of which my man *Pyrrhias* here was one came thither to seek me before 'twas quite shut. Speak *Pyrrhias*, do I say true? Most true, by *Jupiter*, Sir, said the fellow, for I my self heard the barking of the dogs through the Cave, and saw the flashes of the Torch. Here I smiled to hear the howling, and flames put in by the witnesses. You have seen nothing strange, said *Cleodemus*, or
what

what hath not been seen by others. For I, in my sickness, not long since, saw the like apparition. At which time *Antigonus* here visited me, and gave me seven dayes Physick for a Feaver, more hot and violent then fire. One day all left the room, shut the door, and stay'd without, by your prescription, *Antigonus*; if perchance solitariness might entice me into a slumber. But I, lying awake, saw a goodly youth approach me, cloathed in white; who after he had raised me, lead me through such another cleft down to Hell; as I presently perceived, when I beheld *Tantalus*, *Tytius* and *Sisyphus*. What need I report to you the rest? Briefly, I was brought to a Tribunal, where were present *Æacus*, *Charon*, the Destinies and Furies. Where also one sate as King, who seemed to be *Pluto*, by his reading of a Catalogue of their names who were to dye, and had already out-lived their
limi-

limited time. The young man brought me, and presented me to him. But *Pluto* much displeased, said to him, his thread is not yet quite spun, let him therefore depart again. And fetch *Demylus* the Bra-
sier, who hath exceeded his distaff. Whereupon I joyfully returned, re-
least of my feaver, and told all my neighbours, that *Demylus* was short-
ly to dye. Who then also lay sick, as 'twas reported. And shortly after
we heard the cryes of them that la-
mented his death. What miracle is
this? Said *Antigonus*. I knew one,
who after he had been buried twenty
dayes, rose again: For I gave him
Physick before his death, and after
his resurrection. Methinks, said I,
in twenty dayes his body should pu-
trifie or perish with famine. Unless
you administred to an *Epimenides*.
As we thus discoursed, came in *Eucra-
tes* Sons from exercise. One a grown
youth, the other about the age of
fifteen.

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fifteen; Who having saluted us, sat down upon the bed by their father; and a chair was brought for me. Here *Eucrates* taking fresh hint from the presence of his Sons, said, so may I have comfort of these two, (and laid his hands on them) as that which I shall now tell you *Tychiades* is true. 'Tis well known how dearly I lov'd my wife, the mother of these, of happy memory; which I exprest both in my carriage to her while she lived, and after her death: For I burnt with her, her whole wardrobe, and the garments she most delighted in when she lived. The seventh day after her funeral, I lay in this bed, as I do now, having abated my sorrow. And silently reading to my self *Plato's* little tract of the soul, *Demænete* entred, and sat down by me, as *Eucratides* (pointing to his younger Son) doth now. The boy childishly trembled, and waxt pale at the narration. I, proceeded

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ceeded *Eucrates*, as soon as I beheld her, imbraced her & sobbingly shed tears. She permitted me not to weep, but blamed me, that after all my other expressions of affection to her, I had not burnt one of her guilt pantofles, which, she said, was fallen down behind a chest; which we not finding, cast only the other into the funeral pile. As we thus talkt, an unhappy dog which I loved, lying upon the bed barkt, at which sound she vanisht. Afterwards we found the slipper under the Chest, and burnt it. Can you still doubt *Tychiades*, of truths so manifest, and every day apparent? By *Jove*, said I, they deserve to be clapt with a guilt Sandal, like children, who do not believe you, or impudently question the truth. Here *Arignotus*, the *Pythagorean*, entred, a man of long hair, and venerable aspect. You know he is famous for his wisdom, and Sirnamed the Sacred. I was something

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thing relieved with his sight, and according to the Proverb, though I had now got an Axe against lies. For certainly, said I to my self, this wise man will stop their mouthes from reporting any more such prodigies. In a word, I thought fortune had unexpectedly sent some God to my succour. He sitting down in a place which *Cleodemus* resigned to him, first enquired of *Eucrates* his disease, and being informed how he did, askt us what we discoursd of; for as I entred, said he, methought I heard you busied in an excellent subject. We were perswading this man of Adamant, said *Eucrates*, pointing at me, to believe therewere Devils. And that the shades and souls of men departed, did wander up and down the earth, and appear to whom they pleased. I could not choose but blush, and fix my look to the ground, out of reverence to *A-rignotus*. Perchance *Eucrates*, said he

he, *Tychiades* holds that their Souls only do walk who dyed violently, namely such as were strangled, beheaded, crucified, or the like; and that those who dye naturally walk not. If this be his opinion, he is not to be blamed. No such matter, replied *Dinomachus*, he neither holds that there are such things, or that they were ever seen. How say you Sir, said *Arignotus*, looking frowningly upon me, do you deny such apparitions as are visible to all? You must pardon my infidelity, said I, who never saw any. If I had, I should believe as you do. If ever you go to *Corinth*, said he, ask for the house of *Eubatides*, and when 'tis shown you, by the *Craxcum*, enter, and tell *Tibius* the Porter, you desire to see the place from whence *Arignotus* the *Pythagorean* conjured away the Devil, and rendred the house habitable. May we request the whole story? Replied *Encrates*.

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The house, said he, being haunted, was of a long time undwelt in. If any did adventure to inhabit it, they were scared, and persecuted away by a horrid and dismal Apparition; so that it began to fall to ruine, and the roof to drop; nor had any man the courage to enter into it. When I heard hereof, carrying with me certain *Ægyptian* Books (of which I have store upon such Arguments) I went to the house about the first sleep, much diffwaded, and almost violently restrained by mine Host, after he knew whither I meat to go; verily supposing I went to my destruction. Notwithstanding, I taking a Taper with me entred the house alone, and placing the link in the great hall, and my self on the floor, read silently to my self. In comes the Devil, thinking he was to deal with some vulgar fellow, and hoping to fright me like others. A rough, shaggy fiend, and blacker then darkness
it

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it self. At his first appearance he try-
ed, by making an orbicular assault,
to vanquish me, and sometimes
turn'd himself into a dog, then into
a Bull, lastly into a Lyon. But I hav-
ing a direful Spell in readines, which
I pronounced in the *Ægyptick*
tongue, charm'd him back into a
dark corner of the house. And hav-
ing well observ'd the place where
he sunk, I left speaking. In the
morning, after every bodies despair,
who thought to find me slain, like
others, I, against the expectation,
came forth and went to *Enbatides*;
And told him the glad news, that
he might safely inhabit his house,
which was now purged and freed
from Devils. Withall taking him,
and many others (who followed out
of curiosity) along with me to the
place where I saw the fiend vanish,
I commanded it to be digged with
pickaxes and spades. We had not
digged above a yard deep, but we

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found a dead man, consumed, and nothing left to represent him but the Sceleton, which we took up and buried. And from that time the house ceased to be molested with visions. When *Arignotus* had finished his narration, being a man of prodigious wisdom, and generally revered, there were not any of the company who did not condemn me of stupidity for being incredulous. Nevertheless, I neither daunted with his beard, nor their opinion of him, said, can such a man as you, *Arignotus*, from whom alone I hoped to hear the truth, be fraught also with fumes and phantasmes? you have verified the Proverb, I have found coales for treasure. If, said, *Arignotus*, you neither believe me, nor *Dinomachus*, nor *Cleodemus*, nor *Eucrates*, whom can you produce more Authentick to disprove us? A man much admired, said I, *Democritus* the *Abderite*. Who was so small
ly

ly perswaded of such fictions, that shutting himself up in a monument without the City, he there lived, wrote, & composed nights and days. And when certain boys, desirous to scare and fright him, arrayed themselves like Ghosts in black Garments, and wearing counterfeit vizards on their heads, surrounded him, and frequently skipt about him, he neither feared their disguises, nor at all regarded them, but wrote on, & bid them cease to play the fools. So firmly did he believe, that souls were nothing after their departure from the body. Certainly, replied *Eucrates*, *Democritus* was the veryer fool to think so. I will therefore report one story more, in which I my self was an Actor, and took it not up upon relation. Perchance when you hear it, *Tychiades*, the truth of the narration will convince you. When I lived in *Egypt*, yet a boy, sent thither by my father, to learn their Arts, I had a desire

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desire to sail to *Coptus*, and from thence to hear the famous *Memnon* sound at the rising of the Sun. Whom I heard, not as others ordinarily do, yield an insignificant sound; but *Memnon* himself utter'd Oracles to me, and open'd his moth in seven verses. Which, but that I should digress, I would repeat to you. As we were at Sea, there sayled in company with us a certain holy Priest of *Memphis*, admired for his wisdom, and skill'd in all the learning of the *Ægyptians*. He was said to have lived 320 years in a Cave under ground, and there to have learnt Magick of *Isis*. You mean my Tutor *Pancrates*, replied *Arignotus*, he is a religious man, shaven, goes in linnen, is very learned, speaks *Greek* purely, is tall of stature, hath a bow nose, full lips, and small legs. The very same answer'd *Eucrates*. At first I knew not who he was. But when I saw him, after our arrival in the Port, among
many

many other miracles which he wrought, ride upon Crocodiles, approach such cruel beasts, and they to reverence him, and wag their tayls, I gueſſed him to be ſome ſacred perſon ; And by degrees inſinuated my ſelf into his acquaintance and friendſhip. So that at length he revealed all his ſecrets and myſteries to me. To be ſhort, he perſwaded me to leave all my ſervants at *Memphis*, & to accompany him alone ; who promiſed we ſhould not want attendants. And from that time thus we lived. When we came into an Inn, he taking the bolt of the door, or a broom or bar, and clothing it, ſpoke a charm to it, and to enable it to go, and in all things to reſemble a man. The thing going forth, would draw water, provide, and dreſs our ſupper, and diligently wait and attend upon us. After his buſineſs was done, he pronounced another charm, and turn'd the broom into a broom again and

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and the pestle into a pestle. This was an Art, which though I laboured much, I could not learn of him. For this was a mystery which he denyed me, though in all things else he were open. One day, hiding my self in a dark corner, I overheard his charm, which was but three syllables. He having appointed the bolt its business, went into the market. The next day, he having some other employment in the market, I taking the pestle, and apparelling it, in like manner pronounced the syllable, and bid it fetch me some water. When it had brought me a bason full, 'tis enough, said I, fetch no more, but be a pestle again. But it was so far from obeying me, that it ceast not to fetch water till it had overflown the room. I, much troubled at the accident, and fearing least if *Pancrates* should return (as he did) he would be much displeased, took an Axe and cut the pestle in two. Then both parts ta-
king

king several buckets fetcht water. And instead of one, I had two servants. In the mean time *Pancrates* came in, and perceiving what had happen'd, transform'd them into wood again, as they were before I utter'd the spell. Shortly after he secretly left me, and vanishing went I know not whither. And can you now said *Dinomachus*, make a man of a bolt? I have but one half of the Art replied he, nor am I able to return him into his former shape: if therefore, I once make him a water-bearer, we shall be driven from the house by a deluge. Will you old men, said I, never leave to speak monstrous fictions? if for no other reason, yet for these young boyes sakes, forbear your improbable and terrible narrations till some other time, least they be insensibly filled with uncouth affrightments and fables. Accustome them not to hear things which will make impressions,
and

and trouble them all their life; make them start at every sound, and fill them with diverse superstitions. You do well, said *Eucrates*, to put me in mind of superstition. Pray what think you of Oracles, *Tychiades*, and Predictions and Prophecies, uttered by people inspired, and heard from Curtains, or delivered in verse by a Virgin, which foretells things to come? Cannot these things fall under your belief neither? I forbear to tell you that I have a sacred ring whose seal bears the image of *Apollo*, and that the God himself frequently talks with me; least you should think I say this of my self, out of arrogance, I will only tell you what I saw and heard from *Amphilochus* at *Mal-lus*, who entertained me with a long discourse, and consulted the Oracle concerning my affairs. Next I will report to you what I saw at *Pergamus*, and heard at *Patara*. When I sail'd homeward from *Ægypt*, being inform'd

inform'd that there was an open, infallible Oracle at *Mallus*, which verbatim gave clear answers to every mans inquiries, written in a note, and deliver'd to his Priest, I thought I should do well, as I say'd by, to try the Oracle, & consult the God concerning my future fortunes. I by this entrance perceiving that *Eucrates* was likely to lengthen his story, and that he had begun no very compendious discourse of Oracles, and not holding it fit to contradict them longer, leaving him sailing from *Ægypt* to *Mallus* (for I saw them discontented with my presence, as an opposer of their fictions) I will take my leave, said I, and go seek *Leontichus*; For I have urgent occasion to meet with him. You, who think humane passages not sufficient, have the liberty to call the Gods into your fabulous discourses. And having so said, I departed. They, glad of their freedom, in likelihood entertained and feasted themselves with im-

stures. I, cloy'd with what I heard, am come to you *Philocles*, just like those who having drunk new wine, and swoln their belly, have need to vomit: I would give any money for a potion of oblivion to make me forget, and to wash away the mischievous remembrance of what I heard. Who still, methinks, see monsters, Devils, and *Hecates*.

Philocles. I also, suffer'd in your relations, *Tychiades*. For they say, that they not only grow distracted, and fear the water, who are bitten by mad dogs, but if the man bitten bite another, 'tis equal to the bite of a dog, and begets the like distemper; so you having been bitten by *Encrater* fictions, have bitten me also, and filled my fancy with Devils.

Tychiades. However let us take courage, since we have an excellent Antidote to cure us, truth, and right reason: Which if we make our rule, we shall be troubled with no such empty and vain falsehoods.

